

TEXT-LINGUISTICS AND BIBLICAL HEBREW:  
AN EXAMINATION OF METHODOLOGIES

David Allan Dawson

Ph.D. in Hebrew and Old Testament Studies  
University of Edinburgh  
1993



This dissertation is dedicated to my parents and  
best friends, Frank and Ruth Dawson.

It is traditional to include an acknowledgement of those whose assistance has contributed to one's progress toward this goal. In the case of this project — which has, above all, to do with assessing things in their contexts — tradition becomes principle. Neither tradition nor principle are necessary, however, to motivate me to want to acknowledge those whose influence and help have been the context in which this dream has become a reality. In addition to my parents, whose love has made this effort possible and worthwhile, I would like to thank Professor John C. L. Gibson, my supervisor, for his guidance, and support (and patience!); I will, for the rest of my life, be striving to match the standards of integrity, wisdom, and simple human concern, which have characterised his relationship with me and many others. The same is true to no less a degree of Dr. Peter Hayman, Dr. Rod Whitacre, and Dr. Steve Smith, all of whose examples will continue to inspire me. Many, many others deserve mention, but I will name here only two: Kathi, and Tomas. To both of you — many, many thanks.



## **DECLARATION**

*This dissertation is in fulfillment of the requirements established by the University of Edinburgh, for the degree of Ph.D. in Hebrew and Old Testament Studies. It has been composed entirely by myself, and the work is my own; all contributions by other individuals have been clearly indicated.*

David Allan Dawson

26 September, 1993

ABSTRACT: TEXT-LINGUISTICS AND BIBLICAL HEBREW: AN EXAMINATION OF  
METHODOLOGIES

This dissertation focusses on the theoretical base, and accompanying methodologies, required for text-linguistic analysis of Biblical Hebrew texts, and the degree of clarity required for communication of the results. After a brief theoretical introduction, and explanation of a few common terms, two chapters are devoted to interacting with five works which concern themselves to some degree with this issue (works by Niccacci, Eskhult, Andersen, Khan, and Longacre).

In particular, Longacre's Joseph: a story of divine providence: a text theoretical and text-linguistic analysis of Genesis 37 and 39-48 is used to introduce the reader to the "Tagmemic" school of text-linguistics (or "discourse analysis"). The central purpose of this volume is to contribute explanations in plain English of some fundamental concepts of this model, in order that hebraists may make more use of its considerable benefits and insights. In particular, Longacre's identification of several possible text-types (which free us from trying to describe Reported Speech as a single text-type with extremely flexible rules), and of the correlation of a ranked scale of foregrounded to backgrounded clause-types for each significant text-type, is highlighted. These promise to streamline significantly the description of Hebrew syntax.

The next two chapters apply these concepts to biblical texts taken from Judges, Leviticus, Exodus and Ruth. In these chapters, several text-types are confirmed, and their verb ranking identified. Reported Speech tends to modify slightly the expected clause distribution of these text-types, but it is suggested that this is due to internal cohesion with the speech formula clause into which it is embedded (the Reported Speech material is syntactically marked as functioning as the direct object of the speech formula verb, contra Niccacci).

This is followed by a concluding chapter, two appendices (Judges 2, sections of Exodus, and the entire book of Ruth, in formats which have been found useful for identifying certain text-level features), a bibliography, and two colour-coded charts (sections from the two appendices, with colour-coding of features).

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

*Title Page*

*Acknowledgements*

*Declaration*

*Abstract*

*Table of Contents*

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION, AND EXAMINATION OF SEVERAL RECENT PUBLICATIONS	1
1. Introduction to the Content and Goals of this Volume	1
<i>Excursus on Waltke, Bruce K., and O'Connor, <u>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</u></i>	15
2. Niccacci, <u>The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose</u>	18
3. Eskhult, <u>Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose</u>	31
4. Andersen, <u>The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew</u>	38
5. Conclusions	42
CHAPTER TWO: EXAMINATION OF KHAN'S "STUDIES" AND LONGACRE'S "JOSEPH"	44
1. Introduction	44
2. Khan, <u>Studies in Semitic Syntax</u>	44
3. Longacre, <u>Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence : a text theoretical and textlinguistic analysis of Genesis 37 and 39-48</u>	49
3.1. General remarks and background	49
3.2. Contents of the book	52
3.3. Specific comments on the contents	52
3.3.1. Part One	53
3.3.2. Part Two	53
3.3.3. Part Three	58
3.3.4. Part Four	61
3.4. Conclusions	62
CHAPTER THREE: AN INTRODUCTION TO ONE MODEL OF TEXT	65

## ANALYSIS, AND A METHODOLOGY DERIVED FROM IT

1. The Purpose of this Chapter, and its Relation to the Rest of this Volume	65
2. An Introduction to "Tagmemic" Theory	65
2.1. Foundations	68
2.1.1. Two significant concepts	70
2.1.2. "Sub-basic" concepts	72
2.1.2.1. "Patterning"	72
2.1.2.2. "Closure" and "Choice"	73
2.1.2.3. "Notional" or "Deep" Structure versus "Surface" Structure	75
2.1.2.4. "Particle," "Wave," and "Field"	76
2.1.3. "Basic" concepts	77
2.1.3.1. "Language Hierarchy"	78
2.1.3.2. "Slot/Class" and "Filler/Set"	78
2.1.3.3. "Constituent Structure" analysis	80
2.1.3.4. "Tagmeme" and "Syntagmeme"	80
2.1.3.5. "Exponence"	84
2.1.3.5.1. "Primary" Exponence	86
2.1.3.5.2. "Recursive" Exponence	87
2.1.3.5.3. "Back-looping" Exponence	89
2.1.3.5.4. "Level-skipping" Exponence	89
2.1.3.6. "Embedding"	89
2.2. Specific features of the "Text" level	91
2.2.1. The identity of the text	91
2.2.1.1. The first parameter: "Agent Orientation"	91
2.2.1.2. The second parameter: "Contingent Temporal Succession"	92
2.2.1.3. The matrix with two parameters	93
2.2.1.4. The third parameter: "Projection"	95
2.2.1.5. The matrix with three parameters	96
2.2.1.6. The question of other parameters	98
2.2.2. The internal structure of texts	99
2.2.2.1. "Longitudinal" features of texts	99
2.2.2.1.1. "Main-line" versus "off-line"	99
2.2.2.1.2. "Foreground" versus "Background"	100
2.2.2.1.3. Participant reference	101
2.2.2.1.4. Topical cohesion	102
2.2.2.1.5. Other features	102

2.2.2.2. "Profile" features	102
2.2.2.2.1. "Plot"	102
2.2.2.2.2. Constituent Structure	104
2.2.3. The interleaving of all manner of features in texts	104
3. Methodology	106
3.1. General principles	107
3.1.1. The war cry: "the primacy of the data"	107
3.1.2. Selecting a manageable task	108
3.1.3. The theoretical starting point	108
3.1.4. Working with an hypothesis	108
3.1.4.1. Selecting a working hypothesis and database	109
3.1.4.2. Working to disprove the hypothesis	110
3.1.5. Charting	110
3.1.6. Drawing conclusions, and "feeding" the theoretical base	111
3.2. Specific methodological plan for Chapters Four and Five	112
3.2.1. Still "the primacy of the data"	112
3.2.2. Selecting a manageable task	112
3.2.3. The theoretical starting point	113
3.2.3.1. The Narrative History cline	113
3.2.3.2. The Narrative Prediction cline	114
3.2.3.3. The Hortatory cline	115
3.2.4. A working hypothesis and database	115
3.2.5. The charting methodology	118
3.2.6. Drawing conclusions and "feeding" the theoretical base	120
4. Final Comments Regarding the Relationship of this Chapter to the Following Two	121
CHAPTER FOUR: TEXT-LINGUISTIC OBSERVATIONS ON NARRATIVE AND NON-NARRATIVE TEXT-TYPES	122
1. Introduction	122
2. Judges 2	122
3. Leviticus 14.1-32	131
4. Leviticus 6.1 [Heb]-7.37	135
5. Parallel Pericopes from Exodus	137
CHAPTER FIVE: JEPHTHAH AND RUTH — REFINING AND TESTING OUR HYPOTHESES	154

1. Introduction	154
2. The Jephthah Story: Judges 10.6–12.7	155
2.1. The main narrative	155
2.2. Narrative History in Reported Speech	166
2.2.1. Judges 12.2.1–3.6	166
2.2.2. Judges 10.10.1–4	168
2.2.3. Judges 10.11.1–14.5	170
2.2.4. Judges 11.7.1–5	174
2.2.5. Judges 11.15.1–27.3	175
3. The Book of Ruth	179
3.1. Basic facts and statistics	179
3.2. Ruth — the non-Reported Speech	180
3.2.1. 1.1.1–5.2	181
3.2.2. 1.6.1–19.1	182
3.2.3. 1.19.2–22.3	183
3.2.4. 2.1.1–17.3	184
3.2.5. 2.17.4–3.7.7	185
3.2.6. 3.8.1–18.6	186
3.2.7. 4.1.1–13.1	187
3.2.8. 4.13.2–17.4	189
3.2.9. 4.18.1–22.2	190
3.3. Ruth — the Reported Speech material	190
 <i>[§§ 3.3.1 through 3.3.35. contain all the Reported Speech material of the book of Ruth; they are to be found on pp. 190–217.]</i>	
3.4. Summary, and conclusions	217
CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS	219
1. Summary	219
2. Conclusions	221
3. Implications for Progress	226
APPENDIX ONE: THE TEXT OF JUDGES 2 IN COLUMNAR FORMAT	231

APPENDIX TWO: SAMPLES FROM THE EXODUS TEXTS ON THE BUILDING OF THE TABERNACLE (Exodus 25-40), IN COLUMNAR FORMAT	235
APPENDIX THREE: THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF RUTH, IN COLUMNAR FORMAT	243
BIBLIOGRAPHY	259

*Inside Back Cover:*

Colour Key for Formatted Sample Texts

Sample Pericopes of the Colour-coded "Tabernacle" Material [2 pgs]

The Complete Text of Ruth, Colour-coded in Columnar Format [14 pgs]

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION, AND EXAMINATION OF SEVERAL RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## 1.1. Introduction to the Content and Goals of this Volume.

In this work, I will examine several currently available works on Classical Hebrew,<sup>1</sup> explain a particular theory of linguistics, and its derived approach to the data, examine a series of texts, and draw conclusions from all the above. The lynch-pin holding all this together is the question of the role(s) of different types of clauses in different types of texts.<sup>2</sup>

Our goal is to measure some of the current work on this question against two basic criteria: 1) integrity of description; and 2) effectiveness of communication. In a very real sense, the author of a study offers himself (or rather, his work) as a bridge between the topic studied and the reader; if the connection between himself/his work and either the topic or the reader is inadequate in some way, then his purpose in connecting the two will not be accomplished in a satisfactory way. So, if a researcher approaches his data with a faulty theoretical base, or faulty methodological procedures, that end of the bridge is insecure; likewise, if his communication of truly valid insights about the data is imprecise, or impenetrable (perhaps due to use of unfamiliar and poorly defined vocabulary), then the other end of the bridge is insecure. Both must be in place if the work is to move the study of the language forward. We will survey five works with these two concerns in mind, then will turn our attention to the data itself.

- 
- 1 I use this term to refer to Hebrew of the biblical period (extending to roughly 200 B.C.E.); it is more or less synonymous with the term Biblical Hebrew, but allows for the inclusion of non-biblical materials in the corpus; although these are not relevant for the present study, I adopt the term on principle: we are dealing with a language (full stop), not simply a set of features of some strictly limited corpus of data.
  - 2 Jones, in "A Synopsis of Tagmemics," commenting on Longacre's contribution of this type of enquiry, has written: "Longacre has studied the effect of discourse types on units both large and small in texts. 'In effect once a discourse type is chosen, many decisions as to structure of very small parts of it are already made [1972, p. 133]" [p. 94]; this is, in brief the justification for our interest in this approach: we seek to describe the motivating factors at the macro-syntactic level for the employment of micro-syntactic features.



Before much can be said about the data, however, our own approach to it — theory, methodology, and working hypotheses — will require elucidation. In Chapter Three, therefore, I will present definitions, relate concepts, and justify procedures, which will come into play in our examination of the data. This will be followed by examination of six extended sections of text from the Hebrew Bible,<sup>3</sup> culminating in an integrated reading of the book of Ruth, where we examine the text in light of hypotheses developed out of the previous examinations of data. The final chapter will summarize the material contain in the previous six, and will look ahead toward further application of the results of this research. Thus, the layout is as follows:

- Ch 1 Introduction and objectives; examination of the first three works (Niccacci, Eskhult, and Andersen)
- Ch 2 Examination of the remaining authors (Khan and Longacre)
- Ch 3 Presentation of Theory and Methodology
- Ch 4 Presentation of worked material from Judges 2, Leviticus 14, and 6-7, and the Tabernacle texts (Ex 25ff.)
- Ch 5 Presentation of material from Judges (10.6-12.7), and an integral text (Ruth), examined with special attention to the hypotheses formulated during previous looks at the data
- Ch 6 Summary, practical applications, and review of objectives

Chapter One introduces the present research project, and will provide a summary of some of the major recent contributions in the field of Hebrew text-linguistics: a brief introduction to the principal theoretical questions involved in this study will be followed by an

---

3 Judges 2; Leviticus 14.1-32; Leviticus 6.1[Heb]-7.38; sections of Exodus 25-40 [these four data-samples are dealt with in Chapter Four]; Judges 10.6-12.7; and the whole of the book of Ruth [these are found in Chapter Five].

in-depth analysis of one of the currently most influential works,<sup>4</sup> and of two other significant works.<sup>5</sup>

The principal theoretical elements which I will explain in this chapter are:

- the necessity of theoretical and methodological integrity and clarity;
- the primacy of the data;
- language universals, and their significance for Hebrew studies;
- text-level structures as describable features of language;
- "bag-of-tricks" languages, and, with such a language, the necessity of studying all possible features which perform the same function, in order to describe accurately the function of any one of these features;
- 'text', providing a basic definition for this term as I use it, and 'discourse' — alluding to the variety of definitions which can be given to it, and the reasons why I chose to avoid using it;
- text-type, and its influence on the distribution of clause-types;
- and, the inter-relationship between micro-syntactic and macro-syntactic levels of language.

This theoretical section is followed by presentation of three works (details given in text, below) of Niccacci, Eskhult, and Andersen.

Two quotations from David Crystal's Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, 2nd ed., will get us underway:

One sign of immaturity [in a science] is the endless flow of terminology. The critical reader begins to wonder if some strange naming taboo attaches itself to the terms that a linguist uses, whereby, when he dies they must be buried with

---

4 Alviero Niccacci's Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose (tr. by W. G. E. Watson) JSOTS 86 Sheffield: JSOT Press 1990.

5 Eskhult, Mats Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 12) Uppsala: Uppsala University 1990; and Andersen, Francis I. The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew den Hague/Paris: Mouton 1974.

him.<sup>6</sup>

**DISCOURSE** A term used in linguistics to refer to a continuous stretch of (especially spoken) language larger than a sentence — but, within this broad notion, several different applications may be found. At its most general, a discourse is a behavioural unit which has a pre-theoretical status in linguistics: it is a set of utterances which constitute any recognizable speech event (no reference being made to its linguistic structuring, if any), e.g. a conversation, a joke, a sermon, an interview. A classification of discourse functions, with particular reference to type of subject-matter, the situation, and the behaviour of the speaker, is often carried out in sociolinguistic studies (of primitive societies, in particular), e.g. distinguishing dialogues v. monologues, or (more specifically) oratory, ritual, insults, narrative, and so on. In recent years, several linguists have attempted to discover linguistic regularities in discourses (discourse analysis or DA), using grammatical, phonological and semantic criteria (e.g. cohesion, anaphora, inter-sentence connectivity). It is now plain that there exist important linguistic dependencies between sentences, but it is less clear how far these dependencies are sufficiently systematic to enable linguistic units higher than the sentence to be established.<sup>7</sup> The methodology and theoretical orientation of discourse analysis (with its emphasis on well-formedness and rules governing the sequence of permissible units, in both spoken and written texts) are often contrasted with those of conversation analysis. Some linguists adopt a broader, psycholinguistic perspective in studying discourse, which they view as a dynamic process of expression and comprehension governing the performance of people during linguistic interaction. Some adopt a sociolinguistic perspective, in which the purpose or function of the discourse is emphasised. These emphases distance the subject from 'text linguistics', when this is seen as the formal account of the linguistic principles governing the structure of texts. But there is considerable overlap between the domains of discourse analysis and text linguistics (for example, the notion of cohesion is prominent in both), and any attempt at a principled distinction would be premature.<sup>8</sup>

(We can read these quotes with some amusement, for the first draws into focus a problem that affects the term 'discourse' in particular, with acerbic clarity, as can be seen by

---

6 Dwight Bolinger, *Aspects of Language*, p. 554; quoted in David Crystal, *Dictionary*, p. v.

7 It is these "linguistic dependencies" which are the focus of "text-linguistic" analyses; that these are "sufficiently systematic to enable linguistic units higher than the sentence to be established," is indeed a matter for some debate, yet is also one of the presuppositions which undergirds the text-linguistic undertaking as a whole — and it is one which is being amply substantiated by data from the widest possible array of the world's languages, both living and dead.

8 Crystal, p. 96.

the definition[s] which Crystal offers. When we get into the realm of linguistics — and in particular, text-linguistics — the humour of these statements begins to darken, for linguistics generates new terminology at a mind-boggling rate.<sup>9)</sup>

There are at least three things to which a reader should find access — in addition to the results of the work undertaken — in a research publication: the author's presuppositions, his theoretical perspective, and his methodology. This is because the only means a reader has of assessing the trustworthiness of a researcher's conclusions is by evaluating them through that researcher's approach to the data. The problem, however, is that many researchers either have not learned the technique of self-analysis with regard to these concerns, or consider them of too little importance to be included in published results.

Presuppositions must be uncovered, examined, and put to the most difficult challenges throughout a researcher's approach to the data, for these, if left unchallenged, can govern one's work to the point that it produces nothing of value. They must either be 1) recognized as false, and rejected, 2) acknowledged as unproven, hypothetical, and therefore remaining suspect, or 3) proved to be true, at which point they cease to be presuppositions, and become definitions, and part of the researcher's theoretical base.

That theoretical base (which is, in effect, a summary of, and generalizations from, data already processed) in turn gives the researcher meaningful ways of interacting with the data; that is, the theoretical base suggests a methodology. This methodology — or the procedures which one will implement in analysing the data — will in its turn assist in organizing the data in a way that leads to solid scientific conclusions (even where these conclusions be that the processing of data according to one's methodology has led to no solid conclusions).

These conclusions are then fed back into the researcher's (internal) data bank and are compared with the theory's projections. Where the two are in accord, the theory is strengthened; where they are not, both must be re-examined in order that fault be found either

---

9 It is certainly not alone in this, however; various areas of biblical studies are not far behind!

in the methodology or its application, or in the theoretical base — and to determine whether the inadequate factor should be altered to make room for the new results, or should be jettisoned altogether in favour of another, more workable one. Any less rigorous approach to these concerns is the less objective and the less trustworthy.

In the long run, all but the data must be considered suspect.<sup>10</sup> This is true particularly when dealing with a restricted corpus of language material, as there are insufficient data to substantiate hypotheses fully. Only where the data appear to be in contradiction with all possible theoretical explanations, can it be permitted that the data-base itself be called into question. It is rare, however, that scholars go to these lengths, and many settle for "improving" the text as a path of lesser resistance; with regard to this tendency, Niccacci writes:

It is, in any case, a duty to presume that even the various kinds of 'glosses' or inserts also follow the rules of grammar and syntax. I think it injudicious to adopt the principle which unfortunately so many scholars follow that so-called 'difficulties' or 'mistakes' of grammar and syntax are indications of later reworking. In effect this would mean that the writers of such glosses either did not know the language or at the least were inept. I wish to reiterate here a caution against the danger of making syntax as arbitrary as literary criticism . . . . I prefer to follow this method closely rather than 'correct' the texts using 'rules' even if difficult cases remain which require further study . . . .<sup>11</sup>

I present here, in this chapter and in the following, several relatively recent works, which have to do with the assessment of syntactic features in prose. I will sketch more fully my own theoretical and methodological bases in Chapter Three — for the moment, however, the following will serve to introduce these features of my work sufficiently to provide the

---

10 I acknowledge that our corpus may contain errors of transmission, and that this places the analyst in a different situation from one working in a living language, where the data can be reconfirmed when doubt exists about their accuracy. This possibility is not open to those working on Classical Hebrew, for example. However, cautious textual criticism and emendation is not what is at stake in the above statement — rather, it is that too many people engaged in analysis of this language, come to it with inflexible theories and/or ideologies, which they are unwilling to re-examine in light of the data. Radical re-structuring of the text is, for some, only a starting point in their protection of theory or ideology.

11 p. 13.

reader with a starting point for understanding my assessment of these authors' works.

It will be clear from the comments above, and to follow, that I consider the data to be the only unquestionable "given" of my research. But, as there is a rather small amount of data available to us in this language (according to contemporary linguistic standards), we are somewhat at a disadvantage. Modern descriptive linguistics,<sup>12</sup> however, has discovered that, despite the great number of different languages in the world (over 5,000 at latest count), and despite the enormous diversity exhibited among these languages, there is a remarkable degree of consistency in language features; that is to say, the world's languages demonstrate a limited number of possible variants.

Taking a rather simplistic example, with the three main constituents<sup>13</sup> of a transitive clause (Subject, Object, and Verb), we should be able to find the following combinations: S-V-O, S-O-V, V-S-O, V-O-S, O-S-V, and O-V-S. In fact, only the first three combinations occur with any frequency as the standard word order for transitive clauses; the latter three are extremely uncommon, the last being virtually unheard of.<sup>14</sup> Thus when we look at a new language, we can begin with a certain confidence that O-S-V is not a strong option for the normative word order of a transitive clause, and that any occurrences of the O-S-V clause-type should be examined closely, as they are highly unusual. This particular example is not of a great significance for the present topic, but a more relevant one is at hand.

One of the "discoveries" — rather I should say "new emphases" — of contemporary linguistics has been the analysis of large structures in texts. So, just as one can describe the constituent structure of a transitive clause as S-V-O, one can also describe a story as a

---

12 Please note that I make no attempt at precision in the use of this term; it has been used in the past as a label for certain brands of "structural" linguistic theories, which is not my intent here. Here, I merely mean linguistics which has as its principal concern the [empirical] analysis and description of the features of the data as it stands. For further definition of this term, see Chapter Three.

13 "CONSTITUENT (CONSTITUENCY) A basic term in grammatical analysis for a linguistic unit which is a component of a larger construction" [Crystal, Dictionary, p. 68]; we will return to this topic in Chapter Three.

14 On this topic, see, for example, Khan, p. 225, and his notes.

sequence of constituent units,<sup>15</sup> each with its proper place, and each section filled with its proper sort of "filler". This has allowed scholars to observe that certain features occur regularly in the world's languages at these "larger" levels; it is common, for example, if not universal, for languages to mark the most significant event or events in a story, so that this material stands out from the rest of the story. Likewise, distinctions are normally made between background information and foreground information (regardless of the basic text-type in question), and so on.

"Language universals," as these general tendencies of human language have been dubbed,<sup>16</sup> give language workers the "basic starting point" kind of information which a traveller would hope to find in a good guide-book — not the sort of thing like, "This statue was constructed in 1793, and erected on this spot in . . .," but rather, information like "Shops close, by law, at 18:00; if, however, you need a pharmacist in the middle of the night, try phoning ——— or ———, if neither of these is successful, phone the Police (———), who will be able to advise you." Now, the material we are dealing with, of course, does not usually generate the kind of urgency exhibited in my analogy, but the researcher will find that a list of "most likely language features" derived from language studies around the world will be of some considerable help in trying to answer questions about Classical Hebrew. Longacre writes:

---

15 These are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

16 "In their broadest sense, then, LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS are equivalent to the general design features of human language . . . . FORMAL UNIVERSALS are the necessary conditions which have to be imposed on the construction of grammars in order for them to be able to operate. They include such notions as the number of components, types of rules, ordering conventions (e.g. cycles), types of transformations, and so on. SUBSTANTIVE UNIVERSALS, on the other hand, are the primitive elements in a grammar, required for the analysis of linguistic data, e.g. NP, VP, [+ grave], [+ abstract] . . . . Some of these categories may actually be found in every language, but it is not crucial to the notion of substantive universal that they should be. All that is required is that they be constructs which need to be defined by linguistic theory *to enable cross-language generalisations to be made*, i.e. they are not terms established for the analysis of just one language, but are capable of general application . . . . ABSOLUTE UNIVERSALS are properties



The linguistic specialist who takes out even a minimum of his time to read the writings of his colleagues who work in other fields of specialization, is often pleasantly surprised to find that the exercise is relevant and helpful. For one thing, languages around the world involve not only particulars but universals. The universals are partially masked by the particulars. Consequently, one often finds in comparing two languages (typically of two different language areas), a feature which is somewhat latent and covert in language B is marked and overt in language A. The student of language A, having learned of the presence of this feature in language B, returns to his own speciality with his attention now directed to a feature which had not formerly received sufficient attention from him.<sup>17</sup>

Another language universal is that a language will employ one of two basic techniques for marking peak situations, and other such "text-level" features: some languages will have one — and only one — marker for a specific function; others chose from a variety of possibilities (Longacre calls languages of this latter type "bag-of-tricks" languages — for obvious reasons), the choice of which item is very often a "stylistic"<sup>18</sup> one.<sup>19</sup>

(A language with only one way to mark a peak event in no way exhibits an impaired stylistic realm, it must be said; those nuances which indicate the "style" of a text are simply apportioned to other facets of the language.)

The role of language universals in the present study is all the greater, in that the limited scope of our data is rendered, by language universal sign-posts, not as significant a hindrance as we might otherwise have been forced to conclude; for, just as comparison of

---

which all languages share; there are no exceptions. *RELATIVE UNIVERSALS are general tendencies in language; there may be principled exceptions.*" [Crystal, Dictionary, pp. 321; italics my own].

17 Longacre, *Theory and Application*, p. v.

18 I won't attempt to define this term closely — I tend to use it to describe the situation where a language user is faced with more than one option to perform a function, but where the differences between the options are not great; in such a case, the language user makes his choice on the basis of any number of factors, which are generally too subtle to be understood well by the non-native user, for example.

19 In English, for example, we can connect two paragraphs by the words "thus," "therefore," "and so," etc. without any great change in meaning or macro-syntactic significance — though the choice may still be rather rigidly controlled by other factors, such as the socio-linguistic setting.



Hebrew with Ugaritic and Arabic can help us elucidate lexical and other difficulties, these language universals can indicate to us certain features to watch out for, or they may indicate to us possible solutions for difficult syntactic problems. One may approach the language with a sense that one does not need to carry out an analysis with no clues whatsoever, as if performing an autopsy on an extra-terrestrial. Rather, the language lies before us (to mix metaphors) as if a country-side already vaguely familiar. In the same way that, in such a country-side, we would suspect that abundant vegetation in the cleft between two hills may indicate a water-source, we can construct initial hypotheses about our data, based on language universals, where otherwise we might not notice enough of the signs in our language to make any such observations.

Languages all over the world — and from every age from which we have language data — have, to a great extent, had to perform the same kinds of tasks; this is confirmed both by *the very existence of language universals*, as well as by the evidence they present to us. This is to be expected: all humans have the same size neurological language centres, and social interchange tends to demand certain general things<sup>20</sup> of the speaker, which individual languages must accomodate. Psycho- and neuro-linguists will affirm a certain consistency of psychological and neurological language patterning, which does not vary greatly from culture to culture, etc.<sup>21</sup>

At the structural level, then, all language systems tend to have a concept of syllable structure, of intonation patterns, of hypothesis/conclusion sentence structure. This should not raise a sceptical response from the reader. It may, however, be less evident that languages have a strong tendency to structure larger units as well — that is, systems exist within all

---

20 Can the reader imagine a language with no facility at all for discussing "time," "movement," "food," or "relatives"?

21 The question of whether we can apply such up-to-date research results to languages from millennia past, is one which we cannot ever fully answer; studies in early language data (as early as we have it, that is) confirm, however, that "language" as a human tool has not altered so significantly in the time elapsed that today's knowledge could not elucidate yesterday's data.

languages so far studied, which serve to indicate to a reader or hearer<sup>22</sup> that a speech has ended, or that a new scene in the story has begun, or that the key point in an exhortation has been made. These structures are sometimes subtle,<sup>23</sup> and will often occur in overlapping fashion to give a cumulative effect, but they exist nonetheless, and can be catalogued and codified in the same way that "hypothetical sentence" structures (English "if X, then Y.") can be catalogued and codified.

"Universal syntactic structures" — those found in the vast majority of languages — usually include, from smallest building block to largest unit: MORPHEME — WORD — PHRASE — CLAUSE — SENTENCE — PARAGRAPH — TEXT.<sup>24</sup> We are accustomed to analysing phrase-, clause-, and to some extent sentence-structure, but paragraph- and text-structure are relatively new to us.

I have avoided using the term "discourse" here; my term "text" is very nearly equivalent to the former, as it is used in Longacre's brand of 'Tagmemic' linguistics<sup>25</sup> — that is, a text (or 'discourse') is a unit of speech, whose constituents are paragraphs, and other, shorter, units; texts exhibit consistent tendencies in internal development, which features can be described linguistically. This definition, though inadequate, will suffice for the time being. It can be seen from the dictionary entry quoted at the outset of this chapter, that the term "discourse" has a variety of uses; in the following material, I will identify each author's own use of the term, and will be specific with regard to the meaning I intend, if my own use of the term might lead to confusion. In the long run, however, I try to stay away from 'discourse' as a technical term — too many people have used it for too many applications for it to be free

---

22 In this work, reference, by one of these two terms, to the transmission of language material, will not exclude the other — for our purposes, the same language processes are going on whether the communication is oral or written.

23 For example, falling intonation, may indicate the end of a speech.

24 The definition of those terms needing definition will be given, either where first required, or in Chapter Three.

25 A working introduction to this theory will be presented in Chapter Three.

enough of unwanted connotations to serve my purposes.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to those universal tendencies mentioned above, it can be said that all languages need, for example, to be able to relate sequences of historical events; likewise, all need to be able to give lists of instructions; all need to be able to predict, exhort, describe — and all languages need to be able to distinguish these text-types one from another. The theoretical system presented in the following chapters is a most helpful tool for looking at this facet of language; it provides a framework for analysing and codifying the features seen at the "text" level of language.

Words are usually the building blocks of phrases, phrases the building blocks of clauses, and so on. Texts rely on the content of their constituents in order to convey their own content; it is to be expected, then, that text-type distinctions depend heavily on the type of information encoded by verbal aspects, time-frames, etc., to expound the text-type being worked with. Thus, micro-syntax and macro-syntax work hand in hand: proposing that a certain feature has macro-syntactic significance in no way deprives it of its micro-syntactic value.

In addition, there are a limited number of grammatical and syntactic options in the verb system, and, therefore, these options will sometimes be called upon to perform more than one function (e.g. a clause-type which serves as the foreground form in one text-type may be the furthest from the foreground in a different text-type). Nevertheless, it is important — if not essential — that the researcher acknowledge these text-type distinctions and their related verb usages in order to make sense of the data; without such distinctions, no patterns will surface to aid the researcher to understand the features being examined.

The essential theoretical elements which inform my methodology are:

---

26 This, too, is a fairly standard language trait: development of new applications for a term is often followed by abandonment of it in other circles — cf. the same process with the word "gay," whose more general definition as "light-hearted" has been more or less completely abandoned by much of the English-speaking populace, due to its more recently developed application as a term describing a sexual orientation.

- 1) that identifiable structures exist at the paragraph- and text-levels, and that these can be described;
- 2) that 'text-type' is one of the strongest motivating factors at macro-syntactic levels in the deployment of micro-syntactic constructions;
- 3) that the positing of macro-syntactic roles for certain constructions in no way lessens their micro-syntactic identities, but that both layers work hand in hand to convey a wide variety of necessary information.

These basic elements — like the dry bones in the valley — will be knit together with sinews and flesh in Chapter Three. The basic features which I have described above will be sufficient for the reader to make sense of the comments which follow, on the five works to be examined. They will serve to create a reasonable context within which we can operate until such a time as a further definition of theory and methodology becomes more appropriate.

The works I will be examining in detail in this chapter and the next are:

Andersen, Francis I. The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew The Hague/Paris:  
Mouton 1974

Eskhult, Mats Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose Uppsala: Uppsala University 1990

Longacre, Robert E. Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence : a text theoretical and textlinguistic analysis of Genesis 37 and 39-48 Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns 1989

Khan, Geoffrey Studies in Semitic Syntax Oxford: Oxford University Press 1988

Niccacci, Alviero (tr. W G E Watson) The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose (JSOT Suppl. 86) Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1990

Each of these books contributes to a greater understanding of the text-level features of Classical Hebrew, and I will be evaluating them on the basis of the significance of their

contribution to that work (in particular, with reference to the specific concerns of our topic<sup>27</sup>).

It is only fair to acknowledge that these books may not have intended to contribute to an enquiry of exactly this sort, and I acknowledge at the outset that, in some ways, I will not be "giving them a fair reading." Yet, these provide an excellent working collection for assessing the kinds of presuppositions, theoretical bases, etc. which one finds in that contemporary literature which has a bearing on the description of the text-level features of this language.

I will examine these books in two stages: the first group includes Niccacci, Eskhult, and Andersen — these approach their topic with macro-syntactic considerations in mind; two books in this group (Niccacci and Eskhult) are concerned broadly with description of the verb in Hebrew; Andersen, on the other hand, focuses on particular syntactic features and presents a fuller description of their variants and functions.

The second stage<sup>28</sup> will consist of an examination Khan's Studies, and of Longacre's recent work, Joseph.<sup>29</sup> Khan and Longacre have more in common than their particular theoretical background (which is shared by Andersen) — they each offer something unique in their work: in Khan's case it is clarity of presentation, matched by solidity of theoretical grounding; in Longacre's, it is his astute insight into the macro-system of language as a whole, and of Classical Hebrew in particular. As we shall see, these works also have their weak points, which are likewise instructive.

The purpose in looking at these books will be to examine the variety of theories and methodologies current in the academic world of the hebraist, with regard to analyzing larger bodies of Hebrew text.

---

27 Which, as we mentioned above, are 1) the interrelationship between clause-types and text-types in Classical Hebrew, and 2) the question of integrity of theory and methodology in enquiries of this sort.

28 Chapter Two.

29 Longacre's approach to language has informed my own to a great degree, and his principles, for the most part, are my own. This work is dealt with in Chapter Two.

Most works produced at present tend to steer rather wide of the kind of work we are engaged in in this study; those which do address the issue often do so with a wariness of the intellectual "investment and returns" involved. Those which do attempt this work are often marred by an inadequate grounding in empirical theory, or never break out of the world of "linguists communicating with linguists."<sup>30</sup> One book which adopts the first approach is Waltke and O'Connor's Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.

I have a mixed response to this impressive "Syntax" — it is a remarkable work, and welcome; yet it is also seriously disappointing on several levels: In the first place, the authors spend a vast amount of time on *semantic evaluation of forms* (which is grammar, not syntax), and, in all honesty, very little time on *syntax itself*; though they do occasionally discuss word order, etc., in clauses containing various forms of the verb, they spend far more time on discussing the meaning of forms (e.g. "A *non-perfective of instruction* expresses the speaker's will in a context of legislation or teaching,").<sup>31</sup> I have yet to find, for example, a discussion of what elements may be found, and in what order and with what significance, in a participial, or an infinitive, phrase. All this underlines a certain confusion about what constitutes grammar, and what constitutes syntax — by far, most of what purports to be syntactic description is little more than grammar where the nuance of the form in question is fine-tuned by a look at the context. This is not to say that I denigrate Waltke and O'Connor's volume — it is a treasury of information; my complaint on this score is solely that they don't end up doing as much syntax as one is led to believe.

In the second place, Waltke and O'Connor blow hot and cold on "discourse analysis or text linguistics" [§3.3.4b, pp. 53f. — the entirety of the section], opting for "the more traditional path" of old-style phrase and clause analysis (and this they do not do very systematically at the syntactic level). They write:

---

30 As we will reiterate below, in our examination of the various works in this and the next chapters.

31 §31.5c, p. 510.

We have resisted the strong claims of discourse grammarians in part for the theoretical and practical reasons mentioned earlier: *most syntax can be and has been described on the basis of the phrase, clause, and sentence* [italics my own]. Further, it is evident that the grammatical analysis of Hebrew discourse is in its infancy. As an infant, it offers little help for the many problems of grammar which have not been well understood. Most translators, we think it fair to say, fly by the seat of their pants in interpreting the Hebrew conjugations. Hebrew grammarians have only recently come to appreciate morphemes as diverse as the "object marker" **אֹת** and the enclitic *mem*. No modern grammar, further, has begun to gather together the wealth of individual studies that have been carried out in a more traditional framework; thus it is not surprising that some students know little about the case functions and some commentators make egregious errors in their interpretations of prepositions. For our purposes, therefore, we are content to stay with more traditional bases than those of discourse grammar.<sup>32</sup>

And yet they also write:

If we seek to systematize our understanding of textual organization, we need to introduce the notion of different levels and types of organization. Not every verse, for example, works in the same way in itself and in relation to the verses around it. We may recognize a class of major textual markers or macrosyntactic signs, by which we mean conjunctions and other expressions that bind together the sentences constituting a larger span of text. [Here follows a quote from W. Schneider, *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch* (Munich: Claudius, 1974), p. 261, pointing out that certain "signs" have macrosyntactic significance. Waltke and O'Connor follow this with a very lucid summary, then a disclaimer . . .] Like the Masoretic accent system, this method of analyzing textual organization requires independent study (cf. 3.3.4) A simpler approach may be offered. . . .<sup>33</sup>

But, in fact, their "simpler approach" is not simpler, but muddier, and the simpler approach is the one they have forsaken.<sup>34</sup>

They detail in their book what has been written about Hebrew; at times this appears to exclude the idea of actually describing the language itself. For example, it is

---

32 §3.3.4e, p. 55.

33 §38.1e, p. 634.

34 §38.1f, pp. 634ff.



nearly universally accepted, nowadays, that "narrative" is a category with particular features in Biblical Hebrew; Waltke and O'Connor accept it as such, without ever examining what that acceptance implies for language in general, nor for their description of Biblical Hebrew, as the subject of their work.<sup>35</sup> They have taken it on board because it is a matter of general acceptance. And yet, although there is likewise a consensus of opinion which acknowledges **וַיְהִי** to be an intriguing and significant feature of the language, the index directs the reader to only three locations — of these, two are tangential mentions in the context of a brief reference to someone else's work, and the third is to tell the reader that one should translate the clause **וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם** into English as *One day*; it is accompanied by one example. This glossing over of such a fascinating, and textually significant, feature of the language is not helpful; they choose to do so, I believe (given their own statements in their introductory sections), because if they were to engage in a fuller treatment of the issues involved, it would take them out of their realm, and into areas they have chosen, for personal, rather than academic reasons, to avoid.

It would be irresponsible of me to give a purely negative review of this book;<sup>36</sup> but to be honest there is something in the underlying principle of the work to which I take serious exception: this is a *Textus Receptus* approach to describing the language; it has chosen to include only what has been accepted previously, and to break no new ground — nor even to summarize current developments in a way which encourages the reader to look forward to progress and development. It is not likely that another work of a similar nature and scope will receive, for a long time to come, the support and prominence which this has received; therefore, this book will be one of the standards for this generation, and possibly more, of Hebrew students;<sup>37</sup> it has had an opportunity to bring the fascinating array of

---

35 See, for example, §39.1a, p. 647.

36 The introductory overviews are exceptional, for example, despite the restrictions of space which must curtail most of these discussions; and, for the most part, what they have covered engenders little disagreement, but rather, what they have omitted.

37 Re-editing of some of the older standard grammars and syntaxes, with a view to bringing in modern linguistic insights, is presently underway, and promises to combine the best of both worlds — how much more, then, should we be able to find this in a work like



advances in description of the language to the broadest possible readership, in a way which could have moved the study of this language forward exponentially, yet it has chosen a safer, simpler (for the authors, but not for the student) approach. In my opinion, had the authors taken the task "more seriously,"<sup>38</sup> and had done the four, or seven, or ten, more years' work, which would have enabled them really to write a "Syntax" based on all the work available, the book would have been shorter — not because less would be said, but rather because more would have been said, with greater clarity, elegance, and simplicity.

## 2. Niccacci, The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose.

Niccacci's Syntax is an attempt to describe the variety of uses of the Hebrew verb from a text-linguistic perspective. In several ways it is a strong beginning, but also exhibits several flaws.

The greatest strength of this book is that it eschews older styles of Hebrew grammatical/syntactic description,<sup>39</sup> in favour of an approach drawn from modern linguistics. Niccacci points out the weak points of these grammars on occasion, as much in hopes of converting the reader to this new "text linguistic" approach to language analysis, as providing justification for his own approach:

While it is true that Hebrew had only a limited number of verb forms at its disposal, it still seemed odd that, for example, WAYYIQTOL could be translated by virtually all the finite tenses of modern languages, as would appear from classical grammars. Nor is it easy to accept the view that QATAL, which was supposed to be the form for beginning narrative in Hebrew, could have been replaced so often in that position by the

---

Waltke and O'Connor!

- 38 This turn of phrase is a grievous one, and I extend my apologies for the offense it may create; I can think of no more considerate way to express my thoughts on the matter. I recognize that this excursus may sound rather shrill, yet I believe these complaints are inherent weaknesses in the work, and yet are often overlooked due to the impressive nature of the volume.
- 39 Derived originally from grammars of Latin, hence references to 'genitive constructions', etc., which are utterly out of place for a language with no case system.

WAYYIQTOL by customary misuse. It was obvious to me that the lengthy catalogues of special cases and exceptional uses listed in the grammars only show how difficult the problem is.

In turn, translators select the equivalent tenses of modern languages somewhat at random, applying their own interpretation and sensitivity.<sup>40</sup>

and,

It is clear, then, that text linguistic analysis enables us to formulate a set of rules concerning the use of WAYYIQTOL and so considerably lessen the frustrating impression gained from leafing through traditional grammars: that almost any tense of modern languages can be used to translate it.<sup>41</sup>

His general statements with regard to language principles are often excellent:

From the aspect of text linguistics every construction which breaks the narrative chain belongs to the background.<sup>42</sup>

and,

As in pure narrative the chain of WAYYIQTOLs is not interrupted without a reason.<sup>43</sup>

and,

It is clear, then, that the tense of an individual form and construction and therefore the most suitable tense for translation into modern languages is not tied to that actual form or construction but to its function in the text.<sup>44</sup>

among many others.

---

40 p. 9.

41 p. 177.

42 p. 71.

43 p. 107.

44 pp. 164f.

In addition, we find in this book some remarkably succinct statements about the syntax or functions of particular features. For example,

In respect of linguistic attitude, WAYYIQTOL is the tense for narrative (s.81); in respect of emphasis it denotes the foreground (s.86); in respect of linguistic aspect it denotes degree zero (s.88).<sup>45</sup>

Niccacci's basic starting point, and conclusion as well, is that there are two basic factors which, when examined together, provide the key to understanding the syntax of the Hebrew verb (in prose, as his title indicates); these features are 1) a three-fold set of mutually exclusive categories:

Linguistic attitude NARRATIVE/COMMENTARY (or DISCOURSE)

Emphasis/Highlighting FOREGROUND/BACKGROUND

Linguistic Perspective RETRIEVED INFORMATION/DEGREE  
ZERO/ANTICIPATED INFORMATION

and 2) word order within the clause (he will usually refer to this as "position in the sentence", but for the most part, he is dealing with clause-level syntax rather than sentence-level syntax — or higher<sup>46</sup>). These two sets of criteria are his analytical parameters.

After laying out his basic theoretical ideas in chapters 1, 2 and 3, Niccacci looks at the two "tenses" WAYYIQTOL and QATAL in chapter 4.<sup>47</sup>

---

45 p. 175

46 See pp. 20ff., 23, 173, et freq.

47 I take exception to the continual use in this book of the term "tense" — though I acknowledge that some of the problem may have been engendered by the difficulties of translation. "Tense," according to David Crystal's *Dictionary*, is "a category used in the grammatical description of verbs (along with aspect and mood), referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place" [p. 306, a fairly standard contemporary understanding of the term]. It is more or less universally agreed that Classical Hebrew does not have "tense"-based conjugations. Niccacci himself points out on several occasions that Classical Hebrew does not exhibit tense-like features [see, for example, the above-quoted material from pp. 9 and 177], and yet he chooses this term to describe the Hebrew "conjugations" — which term seems

In chapter 4, then, Niccacci looks at the distribution of these two conjugations, in narrative, and in 'discourse'. I will reserve my comments on Niccacci's category of "discourse" until further on.

Perhaps Niccacci's strongest moment is in chapter 5, where he looks at Hebrew Narrative, and where he truly begins to engage in text-linguistic analysis, yet this is also one of his more dangerous points as well, for he is not thorough, and draws conclusions which do not accurately describe the data.

He attempts a similar "text-type-distribution" analysis in chapter 6, with reference to "discourse," but I find his conclusions unsatisfactory, due to his definition of this category.

Chapter 7 deals with "Tense Shift," in which he looks at the motivation for moving away from the standard tense for the text-type being examined; this again is a strong point, in particular where he refers to narrative material; however, I take exception to some of his findings — once again with reference to "discourse," but here with reference to other conclusions as well.

Chapter 8 deals with what he terms the "two element syntactic construction." In my opinion, though, this whole concept is based on some of his weakest prior conclusions, and therefore does not exhibit a great deal of internal strength and consistency.

Chapter 9 is Niccacci's summary of findings. He is definitely at his best when summarizing, and where his findings are solid, his summary statements are brilliant. Where he is on less solid ground it is often difficult to make sense of his statements, particularly in comparison to alternative explanations of the data.

Niccacci's most striking contribution to the study of Hebrew syntax is, in my opinion, his assessment of the foreground/background opposition as indicated by shifts from

---

to me better suited to his needs; failing that he could always choose the option of such phrases like "QATAL-forms". This inconsistency in adherence to the principles of modern linguistic description (which prefers labels which describes the form, rather than the function, when the form is the distinguishing feature) is only one of several minor difficulties which can be found in this work. (I am presuming that this is not simply a matter of oversight in translation, though this, too, is a possibility.)

one verb-form or construction to another. And he is very much on the right track with his distinction between "narrative" and "discourse", but his handling of "discourse" is considerably muddled by his definition of this category. And again, his handling of the three-way distinction between "recovered information", "degree zero" and "anticipated information" is going in the right direction, but is weakened by certain inadequacies related to other linguistic questions.

The major flaws which I find in Niccacci's work are as follows:

1) he has lumped all conversational material (reported speech) into one category called "discourse" — regardless of differences of text-type — and expects this category to show internal consistency and predictability, in spite of the fact that he does not provide parameters for distinguishing, say, between exhortations and reported history;

2) although he opts for a text-linguistic analysis of the verb system of Classical Hebrew, he almost never gets beyond the clause level;

and 3) he is not rigorously thorough in his application of linguistic principles, and permits himself both short-cuts and inconsistencies.

The first "flaw" is at the theoretical level; the second two are methodological.

With reference to my first objection: we require that our language give us many clues as to the type of material we are hearing or reading, and these clues must be more or less instantly recognizable. So, for example, we need to be able to differentiate the following phrases, to know what sort of social interaction is involved and expected:

He went to the store, and he bought bread.

Let him go to the store, and let him buy bread.

The clause types used in the two sentences immediately indicate to us the text-type we are dealing with in each case (the first is historical narration, the second is exhortation). However, if both the above sentences occurred in Reported Speech, nothing in Niccacci's

description would distinguish it from the second.<sup>48</sup> This is inadequate.

Niccacci recognizes the principle that each type of speech (narrative, exhortation, exposition/explanation, etc.) must use a different verb-form or construction as its main-line form. One can hardly expect the main form for story-telling to be an imperative; and, in the same way, exhortation does not rely on historical past as its main verb form; yet both occur with regularity in "conversational" material/reported speech — Niccacci's "discourse" category is incapable of accounting for this.<sup>49</sup>

Were he to have described these syntactic structures in terms of their text-type, his analysis of "discourse" would have greater simplicity and clarity. As it is, his analysis is over-complicated and sometimes more than a bit confusing. He concedes, however, that this category requires further work:

The forms of discourse [conversation] still require study, though, in particular the indirect volitional forms.<sup>50</sup>

With reference to the second so-called "flaw:" Niccacci only once presents a longish section of Hebrew text for analysis, and this is with reference to narrative material embedded within "discourse" (Judges 11.12-28, pp. 102ff.); his analysis of this section of text is intended to discover whether or not embedded narrative (his "discourse narrative") follows the same pattern as narrative which is not related in Reported Speech. And yet, although he insists that units exist beyond the sentence level, and hints that these units also have identifiable structures [see his chapter 5], *he never looks at a complete text in an attempt to isolate such structures* before trying to identify similarity or dissimilarity to a normative pattern. This prevents him from seeing that a variety of features may, for example, serve to introduce a narrative unit, which discovery would in turn inform and streamline some of his other

---

48 See his Table 2, pp. 168f.

49 Where no fewer than fourteen possible syntactic constructions — more than half those he lists — are given as possible foreground "discourse" clause-types, with no real indication of under what conditions they perform this function.

50 p. 13.

research attempts.

The third difficulty with Niccacci is a certain tendency toward overstatement of "rules" of syntax, some of which are occasioned by the theoretical and procedural difficulties mentioned above — and, as a result, occasionally contradicts himself. For example, Niccacci says of the 'report QATAL' that it "never heads a sentence" as well as that it "is a form with first position in the clause" [p. 43]. These two statements cannot be reconciled with each other, and do not describe the data. And again, he writes, "a very important fact concerning the use of QATAL in discourse is that it always comes first in the sentence; this never occurs in narrative" [p. 41]. This statement is in fact wrong on both counts: clear exceptions to both facets of this rule occur in Ruth, for example.<sup>51</sup>

I do not often find myself in agreement with Niccacci's rules, particularly with regard to distribution of specific syntactic constructions. The non-linguistic reader of Niccacci's work may be tempted to think that the difficulties in understanding this work stem from his own (i.e., the reader's) lack of sophistication in this discipline; Niccacci, however, must share the responsibility for the difficulties encountered, as his work exhibits a certain internal inconsistency.

I hasten to add, however, that Niccacci is not so much "wrong" in his conclusions, as he is "only partly right" — theoretical factors which he has overlooked provide contextual clues which clarify the distribution of these syntactic elements, and permit a more restrained and "more elegant" formulation of "rules." Niccacci appears to be in search of the system which governs the deployment the verb in different clause-types in Classical Hebrew; and he is correct, both in supposing that it is there to be discovered, and in seeking many of the clues to it at the macro-syntactic levels; the difficulties encountered here arise out of a

---

51 Cf. Ruth 3.17.2 . . . . שש־השָׁעִרִים הָאֵלֶּה נָתַן לִי כִי, contrary to his first assertion, and Ruth 4.7.2-3 . . . . שְׁלֵף אִישׁ הָעֵלֹ // וְנָתַן לָרֵעֵהוּ, contrary to his second assertion — this latter I would not call 'Narrative' and therefore the second assertion might be valid according to *my* criteria, but it is not true according to Niccacci's, for he would not distinguish this material as being of a separate text-type (see chapters Three, Four, and Five, for the theory and examples which relate to this issue).



partially insufficient theoretical base and a few procedural short-cuts, with the result that the conclusions he comes to are less elegant than they could be, and do not fully match the data. There are several other comments I wish to make with regard to Niccacci's analysis. First, he recognizes and focuses on macro-syntactic markers (for example, **הנה** and **עתה**); this is a strong move forward — here again, however, he will benefit from isolating distribution within each text-type.

Second, he examines forms of **היה** as a possible macro-syntactic markers, and makes some cogent observations. This is a significant improvement over the likes of Waltke and O'Connor, and the traditional grammarians, who limit themselves to only the briefest allusions to this feature's (and others') macro-syntactic significance.

On the other hand, while he acknowledges that semantics must play a role even in macro-syntactic description,<sup>52</sup> he restricts his semantic analysis to grammatical forms. He overlooks the fact that, for example, **היה** never represents a "full" event, by virtue of its inherent meaning, and thus can never be a foregrounded narrative verb. His explanation of the distribution of this verb is fairly convoluted, and could have been simplified with recognition of the semantic observation noted above.<sup>53</sup>

One of the difficulties he runs into here is due to his apparently not having examined larger units for structural similarities. This sort of investigation would have shown that "interruptions" to the main narrative are marked as more or less significant on the basis

---

52 "We have already stated that semantics is of importance, even if only secondary, in determining the function of a verb form or grammatical construction" [p. 165].

53 I am aware that a case can be made for a dual semantic nature of **היה**, with the "be" and the "become" meanings isolated one from another — this factor *may* have significance for the proposed macro-syntactic functions of the word, with the "be" occurrences having a stronger macro-syntactic effect in narrative, for example, than the "become" occurrences. I do not see the need for this, at this point, as neither of them appear ever to be main-line verbs in the data I have examined (definitions, and further discussion of the issue, will follow). In addition, I am sceptical of this distinction at another level: is this not simply a matter of difficulties in translation? What evidence do we have that this was a significant distinction for native users of the language? Until I have seen empirical evidence that the "be" sense and the "become" sense of this verb are semantically distinct in the text itself, I see no need to treat them separately.



of 1) how far removed the interruption is from the normal semantic, temporal, and aspectual (etc.), qualities of the main-line of the text,<sup>54</sup> and 2) how many non-main-line clause-types occur in tandem. This second factor is significant for evaluation of וַיִּי forms — if Niccacci were to have worked from the assumption that Classical Hebrew is a "bag-of-tricks" language, the idea that וַיִּי clauses are among the possible options in the bag of tricks available for a specific task, and he would not have to claim a distinction between וַיִּי as a "full" form of the verb" and וַיִּי as a macro-syntactic marker, since וַיִּי as a "full form" could still function as a macro-syntactic marker. Comparison of several large units of text would lead as well to the realization that narrative units can be broken down into smaller units without endangering the integrity of the whole, and he would not need to insist that וַיִּי is always a marker of continuity. (In my reading of the data, וַיִּי seems almost without exception to function as a paragraph-break marker, and as such is often a marker of discontinuity.)

Third, had Niccacci analysed the structure of larger narrative units more carefully, and had he acknowledged the integrity of other text-types, he would not need to posit a difference between narrative embedded in discourse, and "narrative proper" [p. 102].

When analyzing the Judges 11 text as an example of narrative within "discourse," Niccacci makes several surprising statements:

I use the term 'narrative discourse' for this type of narrative in which the events are not reported in a detached way, as in a historian's account, but from the speaker's point of view. Naturally, verbal forms in the first and second person predominate.<sup>55</sup>

The claim that "verbal forms in the first and second person predominate" is odd, particularly in light of the fact that, in the example Niccacci himself gives, in the narrative in

---

54 We will return to rework this concept more deeply in Chapter Three.

55 p. 102.

question,<sup>56</sup> *all narrative clauses are in 3rd person*; two cohortative clauses do occur, which record the messages sent to the two kings — these are not narrative, but exhortation: "Let us pass through your land" (in vv. 17 and 19).

In addition to this, Niccacci claims that "narrative discourse" and "discourse proper" obey different rules, and that:

The text of Judges 11 just examined shows that QATAL is the verb form for beginning 'narrative discourse' . . . . Now here a basic fact must be emphasized. No 'narrative discourse' begins with a WAYYIQTOL; the WAYYIQTOL is always the continuation form of an initial construction typical of discourse (cf. s.24) . . . . This fact reveals the fundamental difference between the WAYYIQTOL of narrative — which is either initial or the continuation of another initial WAYYIQTOL — and the WAYYIQTOL of discourse which is never initial but always the continuation of a non-narrative initial construction, different, that is, from WAYYIQTOL.<sup>57</sup>

Niccacci is quite comfortable with the idea that a non-conversational narrative unit can (or perhaps, "must") be preceded by an 'antecedent construction' section — that is, a section which provides background information such as location, time reference, and so on.<sup>58</sup> Why is it, then, that he discounts this explanation of the opening temporal clause of the Judges narrative on the grounds that it occurs in recorded speech? This explanation actually fits the data, and eliminates the need for multiplex descriptions of this verb-form and text-type.<sup>59</sup>

In my opinion, Niccacci considerably overworks the "linguistic perspective (retrieved information/degree zero/anticipated information)" factor. This is in compensation for the too broadly defined "discourse" category; for, where he has failed to distinguish the integrity of individual text-types and the consistency with which clause types function within them, he has

---

<sup>56</sup> Judges 11.16–22, twenty–some clauses in all.

<sup>57</sup> p.106f.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. his §16, pp. 36f., and §27, p. 48.

<sup>59</sup> It is my intention to tackle this problem again in Chapter Five, after we have examined some data, for I have another explanation to offer for this alleged phenomenon.

been forced to attempt another explanation for the bewildering remainder of material left unexplained by his other two categories (linguistic attitude : narrative/discourse; and prominence : foreground/background) — both of which categories are quite solid, apart from the ineffectively broad "discourse" category.

This "linguistic perspective" category likewise has promise, but does not rise to the occasion to explain all the occurrences it is purported to do; this factor does not appear to play a major role in verb and clause usage in Classical Hebrew, and Niccacci does not seem to be on the right track in assuming it as a motivating factor for a wide array of features; other motivating factors can be demonstrated to have a far greater influence over the choice of clause type, and therefore permit a much clearer presentation of the micro- and macro-syntax of this language.

My last objection to Niccacci's description is again one questioning the degree of influence of a certain factor, in this case word order within the clause. Now, here, I am largely in favour of Niccacci's conclusion — that the emphasis of the clause is determined by what has first position in it (excluding conjunctions such as *ו* and *כִּי*) — however, I feel he takes this too far.

Permit me to quote at length:

At this point we can state our opinion concerning the traditional definition which runs as follows: a clause is verbal when the predicate is a finite verb and nominal when the predicate is a noun. For this definition to be valid it should also be specified that in Hebrew a finite verbal form is predicate when it comes first in the clause. When, instead, it is preceded by an element of any kind (other than WAW) the verbal form is not the predicate and therefore the clause is nominal (CNC) . . . .

By definition, the 'subject' is the topic spoken about (usually a person or animate being) and the 'predicate' is what is said about the subject. . . . Now the subject is a noun or noun equivalent ('noun-phrase') while the predicate is a verb ('verb-phrase'). According to modern linguists the 'noun-phrase' has first position in the sentence. It should be noted, however, that this statement does not suit Hebrew, for two reasons. First, in Hebrew the first position in the sentence is filled by the predicate, not by the subject. Second, when a Hebrew sentence begins with a noun or an adverb the predicate is not identical with the verb but in actual fact with that noun or adverb. Accordingly, what is normally the 'subject' becomes the 'predicate' and vice versa.

This transformation is not exclusive to Hebrew as it occurs in other languages, ancient and modern. It is effected by nominalisation of the verbal form. To this type belong the first two constructions in Hebrew, listed above:

- (1) x-participle with article
- (2) x-'asher + QATAL

Typically, in Hebrew there is a way to effect the change from 'subject' to 'predicate' without nominalisation of the verb. Instead, the noun is simply placed at the head of the sentence. To this type belong the other two constructions discussed above:

- (3) x-QATAL
- (4) x-YIQTOL<sup>60</sup>

This opposition of subject and predicate seems overstated; in fact, all the information in a "sentence" — and not just the predicate — is vital to the meaning of the sentence, and though one element may have greater importance, this is only on a sliding scale; to label one element 'subject' and another 'predicate' in this fashion is to put into black and white that which should be described in terms of greys. Rather, is this not a case, not of the transformation of subject to predicate and vice versa, but more simply of the *de-emphasizing of the predicate and the emphasizing of the subject*, without the categories themselves being reversed? Niccacci's approach oversimplifies the phenomenon, while creating a new range of concepts and definitions for terms which served adequately in their old guise. I feel that nothing is gained in calling a noun which precedes the verb 'the predicate', rather than 'sentence-' or 'clause-initial'; such a redefinition is extraneous — one accomplishes the same thing by giving the label "subject-initial" clause, or some other similar [and more empirically descriptive] label; this 'transformation' of subject and predicate is not necessary, and complicates description of the language.

He is also, incidentally, not accurate in his assessment of "modern linguists"; it is incorrect to say that they believe the noun phrase to be "first in the sentence." Perhaps this is

---

60 pp. 28f.

true of those who do not engage in linguistics as a description of data (though I cannot imagine what other sort of linguistics would exhibit any integrity); it is certainly not true of linguists whose goal is to describe "what is there." The syntax of Classical Hebrew must be described in such a way that all syntactic options are accounted for; this is easiest if one specifies as accurately as possible what sorts of clauses (for example) have what sort of construction — for Classical Hebrew, for example, one might say that main-line narrative transitive clauses are normally V-S-O, while background narrative transitive clauses are S-V-O and, rarely, O-S-V.<sup>61</sup>

Niccacci suggests that this transformation from subject to predicate and vice versa is found in modern languages, and cites the French "c'est moi qui . . ." as an example (p. 29, note 18). This in fact is simply a stative identificational clause (identical to the likes of "c'est un homme," "il est professeur," "he's my friend," and so on) which follows its standard rule for stative identificational clauses in French:

S + stative-Verb [= être] + Noun Phr. or equiv.

In this case the predicated Noun Phrase is a personal pronoun, which is modified by a relative clause (which is left incomplete in our example, but which will follow its own rules of constituent structure). There is no need to propose a shift of predicate to subject and vice versa: properly written rules forestall the need to redefine basic terms.

I do not share Niccacci's confidence in the finality of his results, as evidenced by his statement, "scrutiny of a wider selection of text might contribute further refinements but I do

---

61 This is, of course, a vastly oversimplified "rule," taking no account of sentences with conjunctions, temporal phrases, adverbs, etc., each of which can be described accurately, without requiring a redefinition of terms, and without becoming too cumbersome — but this illustrates well enough the benefits of describing a feature by its own features: "S-V-O" is a much more 'accurate' description than "nominal clause" as opposed to "verbal clause." These other labels may have some value in other facets of language description, but at the level at which Niccacci, Eskhult, myself, and others, are working, it is by far clearer to employ the former option.

not envisage major modifications."<sup>62</sup> I believe he is well on the right track,<sup>63</sup> yet I *do* envisage modifications, some of which will indeed be major.

### 3. Eskhult, Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose.

Eskhult's book has a narrow focus — he looks principally at a single clause-type — but he attempts a great deal within these narrow confines; he writes:

The aim of this study is to shed light on the system of aspectual contrasts in Biblical Hebrew, and more particularly how aspectual contrasts are used as a device in narrative technique.<sup>64</sup>

His basic approach is solid; he looks to the world of theoretical linguistics for direction in resolving the opacities of Hebrew syntax. Though his is essentially a micro-syntactic enquiry, with a shy courtship of macro-syntax (he does not really step outside of micro-syntax even to examine macro-syntactic function), he asserts the easily overlooked fact that

there are factors on the clause, sentence and episode level that bear on the verbal aspect.<sup>65</sup>

and, further, that

it is decisive for the interpretation of classical Hebrew prose, that one is clear about which clauses carry on a narrative, and which depict a background state of affairs. In narrative discourse the skeleton is made up of sequential *wayyiqtol*-clauses, while the *subj* - *qtl* clause almost exclusively furnishes some background information.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> p. 10.

<sup>63</sup> This may sound condescending; I must acknowledge my debt to Niccacci for several insights and characteristics, not the least of which is his encouragement in challenging outmoded ways of thinking.

<sup>64</sup> §1.1, p. 9.

<sup>65</sup> §6, p. 121.

<sup>66</sup> §2.7, p. 43.

These are insightful observations, solidly rooted in good theory, and they lead him to posit the *(we)subj - qtl* clause as a feature which separates sections of main-line narrative clauses, providing a structuring mechanism for narrative texts.<sup>67</sup>

Eskhult is hoping to contribute to solutions in the realm of Hebrew macro-syntax; his approach is to perform a "cross-over" attempt, whereby he looks to micro-syntax for help in determining function and distribution of macro-syntactic features. He focuses strongly on the aspectual nature of the verbal clauses under consideration.

The first of three major difficulties which I perceive in this work, however, is that Eskhult attempts much in too little space, and would leave the sceptical reader largely unconvinced.<sup>68</sup> There is <sup>is</sup> no doubt that micro-syntax and macro-syntax interpenetrate, and he is right in assuming that the aspectual nature of these clauses is what enables them to perform their macro-syntactic functions, but the connections which Eskhult proposes are not so apparent that his substantiation of these claims is sufficient; his proposal requires a more lucidly presented and much more thoroughly substantiated work than this, to change the perception of his readers.

In addition, the extensive description at the micro-syntactic level of the aspectual nature of a few clause-types (the scope of this work extends only to cover the *(we)subj - qatal* clauses, with only the very briefest analysis of other clause types), with occasional reference to possible functions at higher levels of text, does not really constitute a macro-syntactic analysis, nor — due to the lack of thoroughly reasoned explanations for connecting micro-syntax so closely to macro-syntax — does it impel us to follow his lead to

---

67 He suggests that this feature is particularly suited to a largely illiterate society, with its emphasis on the oral, rather than written, use of narrative [in loc. cit.]; but this is somewhat irrelevant, as literate societies, with their written narrative, have the same tendency to use clause-types to encode episode margins, etc., as do illiterate ones [see the example from Shelley, below]. I will risk suggesting that this is a fore-taste of a theoretical weakness which will be betrayed more clearly by other difficulties; his theoretical base is too far removed from "real language" analysis."

68 This need not be the case: compare the thoroughness of O'Connor's Hebrew Verse Structure (1980).



do the more thorough work ourselves.

This emphasis on micro-syntax is not prerequisite to a description of macro-syntactic functions (and Eskhult has left it unclear as to whether he sees himself as doing clause-level analysis or "discourse"-level analysis [he uses "discourse" to refer to large units of text]). For, once one accepts that the difference in meaning conveyed by the various clause-types enables a hearer/reader to register its macro-syntactic significance, the aspectual nature of specific clause-types ceases to be central to macro-syntactic analysis. That is to say, a syntactic study needs to identify and describe the structures and functions of elements at whatever syntactic level one is working at; it does not require us to do all other levels of analysis at the same time.

This may seem at first blush either obvious, or irrelevant — or simply wrong — but macro-syntactic description will benefit from the clarity gained by omitting secondarily related material. The macro-syntactic function of a particular clause-type may, for example, be more simply apprehended if we stay within the syntactic level where the feature is to be found, rather than stopping frequently to assess its aspectual connotations (which are, by nature, grammar or micro-syntax, rather than macro-syntax). We expect a book on Hebrew syntax to forego in-depth presentation of grammatical constructions, except where they are directly related to syntax; likewise we would find a lexicon "obsessive," that makes constant and reference, on even the most minor points, to the phonological system of the language. In each of these cases, we are accustomed to the fact that features which can be analyzed in their own right, can become (more or less) unquestioned building blocks at levels further up the hierarchy: if we do not take some things as tentative starting points, we never get off the ground.

Eskhult is right in describing this feature (the *(we)subj - qtl* clause-type) both in terms of its aspectual connections across syntactic levels, and in terms of its macro-syntactic distribution and function; however, because he attempts to cover too much (objection no. 1), and because he (like many others) is working with a theory which does not direct him to focus on text-type as a conditioning factor in deployment of clause-types (objection no. 2) —



and because he does not attempt to examine this clause-type as one of several possibilities for this particular macro-syntactic function (objection no. 3) — he describes neither the aspectual relationships, nor the macro-syntactic distribution and functions, very successfully.

Yet, it must be said that, like Niccacci, he makes some very astute and apropos observations; some of his summary comments are direct and accurate, not to mention elegant: e.g.,

Generally speaking, a clause expressing a completed action with reference to the present is static, since it refers some state to a preceding situation. Therefore, it seems natural that such a clause is construed as a descriptive, not a narrative-sequential, clause.<sup>69</sup>

With regard to my second objection, it must be said that Eskhult, like Niccacci, fails to take into account that different text-types will use verbs and clauses differently; their attempts to generalize on the distribution of clause-types in Reported Speech material, are confused and unsuccessful. Weeding out mutually exclusive occurrences, which are predictable on the basis of different text-types, would enable them each to describe much more clearly the harmony and symmetry of the Hebrew verb system.

Eskhult writes,

from a *discourse perspective* the contrast between 'state' and 'motion' is also a contrast between 'background' and 'foreground', which means that aspectual contrasts are liable to be used by a narrator in order to facilitate the apprehension of the structure of a story on the part of his audience. This is, however, fully pertinent to narrative portions only, in dialogue this contrast is less apparent.<sup>70</sup>

---

69 §2.5.3, p. 39; it should be noted, however, that such nuances of time reference are decidedly difficult to pin down. This is a constant thorn in the flesh of this study — trying to start from the point of aspectual contrasts (which tend to be too evasive of secure identification and codification), enforces on this study a constant weakness.

70 p. 121; Eskhult's summary of the role of aspectual contrasts is very much on the mark; the only shortcoming is that he doesn't examine other text-types, such as instruction, for similar mechanisms. It is a feature of the general state of affairs in Classical Hebrew text-linguistics (as I am at pains to point out in this chapter), that dialogue is evaluated as a single, and unified, text-type — it is rare that hebraists interested in text-linguistics

Such an important trouble-spot settles calmly into place with a proper appreciation of text-type effects. This is a subject which will occupy our attention at considerable length in Chapter Three.

Thirdly, Eskhult no more than cursorily evaluates the range of possible features which could replace his chosen clause-type as an "Episode Marginal Circumstantial."<sup>71</sup> This is inadequate.

Saturation with a range of features is the proven tendency for marking the macro-structure of a vast number of the world languages (in particular, those which fit into the "bag-of-tricks" category).<sup>72</sup> Therefore, any macro-syntactic markers in Classical Hebrew

---

look at Narrative in Reported Speech, in comparison with Predictive (i.e. prophecy), with Exhortation, with Instruction, and so on, in order to identify features peculiar to each. Another recent addition to the literature falls afoul of the same insufficiency: A. F. den Exter Blokland's "Clause-Analysis in Biblical Hebrew Narrative — an Explanation and a Manual for Compilation," *Trinity Journal* 11 (1990) 73-102, is a bit of a rarity, in that its goal is to present a methodology to the reader, so that he can go away and "do it" himself. This methodology, it must be said, is computer-based, and requires materials prepared by J. H. Sailhamer of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, which limits its applicability. At the outset, it can be seen, as well, that it makes the same mistake of lumping all "discourse" material into a single category; in the context of pointing the reader in the direction of language universals, den Exter Blokland writes: "Linguistic research of the past thirty odd years has shown that texts themselves show patterns in their composition that arise from the nature of the medium language [here, I suspect his point would have been clearer were he to have enclosed in quotation marks the word "language"] rather than from text-genre combined with the author's literary freedom alone. A case in point is the fact that in many languages the distribution of tenses differs according to whether the text-type is discourse or narrative. There are rules of language that determine in what tense a sentence will be cast, depending on whether the sentence forms part of a discourse or a narrative text-segment, whether it is background or foreground, whether the statement is general or specific" (p. 73). Here again, the only substantial weakness visible in this is the definition of "discourse" as a text-type parallel to "narrative." The dismantling of this presupposition is one of the main goals of the present volume.

71 p. 9, et passim.

72 There is no compendium of "text-level features in the world's languages," and therefore these statements which refer to "a vast number of the world's languages" may seem to beg the question. It would be irresponsible of me, however, to leave these claims unsupported, though I can direct the reader to no more than a token substantiation. In Mandarin (Chinese), for example, peak events are marked by a single particle — this is

(as a bag-of-tricks language) need to be examined in company with other options which can perform the same function. Eskhult attempts to discern the macro-syntactic contribution of the *(we)subj - qtl* clause on the basis of its aspectual identity, without doing a thorough survey of its distribution in relation to other macro-syntactic features, and therefore has a rather limited vision as to the role that this feature can play in conjunction with other possible features from the bag of tricks.

In Mary Shelley's Frankenstein, to take an example at random, we find the following clause distribution:

a long string of simple past tense clauses;

a string of 11 clauses built on the verb "to be";

a long series of clauses with past-perfect forms, with the occasional modal clause ("that I should . . .") or stative clause;

then, another long string of simple past tense clauses;

This is the distribution of the clauses found at the end of Chapter Two and the beginning of Chapter Three.<sup>73</sup> The reader knows that he has come to a significant break in the action of the story; he does not tend to register consciously the fact that these clauses provide stative description, or that past-perfect clauses are requiring him to examine prior events. It is possible that the same unconscious relationship to the syntax (macro-syntax) of this material is

---

not a "bag-of-tricks" language; in colloquial American English (I have noticed this feature in Britain as well, though it seems less socially acceptable there), a story-teller, may shift from simple past to present tense to highlight the peak episode; verb saturation, staccato clause structure, and other such features may mark the peak episode, but *none of these is required* as is the particle in Mandarin. These languages in which one particle has one function, which none other can replace, are documented from around the world, in linguistic journals, and grammatical descriptions. Beyond this very short summary, I must refer the interested reader, first to Longacre's Grammar Discovery Procedures, and Grammar of Discourse, then to the language-specific literature listed in his, and others', bibliographies.

73 The chapter break is found after the 11 "to be" clauses; cf. pp. 41f. in the Oxford University Press's 'World's Classics' edition [1980].

true of the author as well. An analysis of the aspectual values of these clauses is illuminating, but it is not required in order to understand the macro-syntactic significance of these features. It is clear, in addition, that a study of only the stative clauses, in this example, will not lead us to a very well-rounded understanding of the macro-syntax of this text — nor, for that matter, will it tell us all that much about the stative clauses, as we do not gain an understanding of how they work with other clause-types to perform their own macro-syntactic functions.

I hold to a basic assumption which informs and controls my own approach: when assessing the use of a specific linguistic feature, it is important to seek first its strongest motivating or conditioning factor; this will provide the observer with the clearest and most uncomplicated data from which to describe the particular feature. It is possible that Eskhult and Niccacci would affirm this as well, but their theoretical starting point does not appear to be directing them to all the possible motivating factors.

A goal of any linguistic description is "elegance" — that is, a linguist seeks to describe his data accurately, and fully, yet as economically as possible. An accurate, and readable, analysis of three pages in length is considered more elegant than an equally accurate, and equally readable, analysis of thirty pages in length. Likewise (to paraphrase Ockham's "Razor"), there is no point in explaining a feature with two propositions, when it can be done with one.

This goal of an elegant description reflects an underlying presupposition: that the human brain requires organization in order to encode thoughts into language — we are not capable of synthesizing vast quantities of unrelated data without some sort of organization being applied to it — and, therefore, that each language can be reduced to its principles of organizing raw data. Both Niccacci and Eskhult are shy of the mark with regard to this elegance in that they have overlooked factors which would have streamlined their results.

Eskhult's work does contribute to our knowledge of the Hebrew verb; it does not, however, greatly advance our understanding of Hebrew macro-syntax. Analyses such as this,

which focus on the inherent meaning of a form<sup>74</sup> are essential for an understanding of the Hebrew verb. However, the inherent meaning of a form should in theory be described only in conjunction with the contextual meaning and function. The inherent sense of the verbless clause, for example, is exactly that which makes it the most appropriate form to use for Expository texts,<sup>75</sup> and the inherent sense of *wayyiqtol* forms make them the most appropriate for narrative material.<sup>76</sup> When a verbless clause is used in an expository text, it should rise no eye-brows; it imports little or no added nuance to the text. However, if a verbless clause occurs in a narrative text, this should incite comment, as it is very different from the standard form, and thus is used to contribute something to the text, by virtue of its being "unexpected." When a writer seeks to explain certain syntactic features, but does so only from the perspective of the inherent meaning of that feature or form, regardless of its function in the text, we do not get a true picture of things; it is certainly untrue that a syntactic feature always imposes its inherent meaning upon a text (for the reasons stated immediately above), and therefore an analysis from such a perspective is misleading in that we are told that these nuances are present in all occurrences of the feature or form being examined.

#### 4. Andersen, The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew.

What has been said in the introduction about Khan — regarding the narrowness of his topic, and the thoroughness with which he describes it — can also be said of Andersen, although I must open my remarks on this landmark in Biblical Hebrew studies with the comment that the average hebraist will find this one of the most unreadable books available to the Hebrew scholar.<sup>77</sup>

---

74 As opposed to its function in its context.

75 See Chapters Three, Four and Five, for a fuller discussion of this text-type.

76 Or it might be the evolved function which has given rise to the significance of a particular form, though this is less likely . . . yet another "chicken-or-egg" scenario.

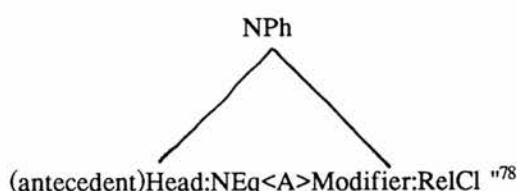
77 One of the benefits of the "Tagmemic" school of linguistics — which has given us both this book, Khan's, and Longacre's various works, among others — is that is empirically rooted, and has provided a systematic theory which has opened the door to a great deal

For example, where the author begins to explain "deep" grammar versus "surface" grammar, the text reads as follows:

"Consider the phrases in English:

a man,    whose name is/was Job  
the king, whose name is David  
Esau,     whose name is Edom  
you,      whose name is Yahweh

These all have the structure:



This is an encoded way of saying: "This type of Noun Phrase is composed of an antecedent — a definite or an indefinite article, etc. — which is optional, followed by the "Head" of the phrase (that is, the core unit), which can be composed of a Noun or its equivalent (a pronoun, personal name, etc.); this is followed by a modifier, which is composed in this instance of a Relative Clause, and which is tied together with the Head section by grammatical agreement." The reader might here be inclined toward wonder or exasperation,

---

of understanding of language; its theoretical underpinnings are sufficiently simplistic, yet all-encompassing, to permit all facets of a language to be assessed in relation to all other facets of that language [from extra-linguistic signals, such as gestures, to the structures of the largest bodies of text, and again to the most minute details of pronunciation]. The drawback is that such a hoard of interrelating information requires to be put into print, and is often summarised in very dense jargon; linguists familiar with this theoretical system tend to try to include as much of this related material as possible in any given analysis, and [always trying to produce the most "elegant" solution possible] they tend to try to present it in a minimum of space. This leads to a vast amount of material being presented in a short-hand form resembling mathematical calculus — it is not coincidence that Andersen's and Longacre's works are alike in this.

78 P. 29.

yet this is actually a simplified form of the current theory. What is given above would be called "two-cell tagmemics" (the colon separating the two cells of "Slot" — Modifier — and "Filler" — Relative Clause); the standard brand of this theory is "four-cell tagmemics", which in itself is a simplification of the original "nine-cell tagmemics" — which even Kenneth L. Pike, the wizard behind this school of linguistic theories, found too ungainly. While this approach provides the benefit of an enormous amount of linguistic analysis in a nutshell, it is all but impenetrable to one who has not mastered all the theory with its idiosyncratic short-hand.

This is a significant drawback, yet Andersen's book has nonetheless had widespread effect on Hebrew studies, and is cited in nearly every text dealing with the syntax of Biblical Hebrew, since its publication. It is an example of the highest calibre of scholarship and of scholastic integrity, informed by language universals, and thus enabled to describe in penetrating detail a particular level of the Hebrew language. However, its transmission to the average interested hebraist has not, altogether, been a success.

Andersen engages in both "from the bottom up" description, and "from the top down" description, as well as description "in situ"; that is to say, he describes the Biblical Hebrew sentence 1) in terms of what units make it up, 2) in terms of what other options might replace it in the various slots which it can fill, and 3) what effect it has on its wider context or contexts.

One of the great strengths of this book is that it does recognize the strong influence of text-type on other levels of the language, for example the author frequently deals with "precativ discourse"<sup>79</sup> and "predictive discourse" in separate sections, as to mix them together would not allow certain patterns of usage to appear.<sup>80</sup>

In addition, the reader will find practical justification for this kind of research in

---

79 "Precative" — having to do with desire or entreaty; "Discourse" — here, not conversational material, but rather a longer stretch of text, with its own [predictable] internal structure — this term is used by most tagmemic text-linguists, and is equivalent to my term "text."

80 A quick scan of his Table of Contents confirms this



statements like the following:

The connections secured by the hierarchical grammar of Hebrew discourse are shown on p. 138. The example is instructive, because the results are different in translation when these structural signals to the higher levels of discourse structure are not heeded. RSV, to look at only one attempt, takes considerable liberties with the conjunctions, thus throwing the paragraphs into quite different arrangements, breaking some close linkages, and creating others where there should be a break. It omits the conjunction at the beginning of 8.18, making a break where there is sequence. It misses completely the trio of clauses governed by *pen*, which as we have seen, are unified by chiasmus. Instead, it adds a gratuitous *beware lest* to verse 17, severing its sequential connection with verse 14b.<sup>81</sup>

Andersen writes:

Without explicit and methodologically rigorous definitions of basic units and relationships the classification of a linguistic datum remains whimsical, and the same clause will often be described differently by different writers, with no discussion of the reason for doing so.<sup>82</sup>

And in his opening pages he provides a detailed introduction to his topic (the sentence), giving definitions arising out of concerns raised by modern linguistics. So, rather than saying that a sentence is "a complete thought expressed in words" (which definition is found wanting on several counts by modern standards), he proceeds to clarify — as far as possible — what exactly can and cannot be termed a sentence for purposes of linguistic assessment.<sup>83</sup> This section is not vastly easier to understand than the remainder of the book, but amply repays careful study. Working through this material gives the reader great insight into the kind of analysis of data, and of language description, which one must cultivate in order to do justice to the task we undertake.

The main impediment with the book is that it is exceptionally difficult to make

---

81 From section 9.10, "CHIASMUS AS A HIGH-LEVEL NODE," p. 137.

82 p. 18.

83 Waltke and O'Connor borrow heavily from Andersen in their own discussion of the same topic, though only tangentially crediting him [section 4.8.a, pp 77ff].



sense of. One is faced constantly with the difficult task of trying to decipher tagmemic calculus; and there are minor weaknesses where a particular remark is not clarified for the uninitiated, for example, "such a participial phrase (incomplete clause) generally functions as a NOUN EQUIVALENT (NEq); the participle is verbal within the phrase, nominal outside it";<sup>84</sup> the reader is left to divine the sense of this pithy summary, and while the meaning is not too evasive, it would be encouraging to be sure that one's interpretation is exactly what the author had intended.

This book does not require further attention in this particular work, as the shortcomings of the work are immediately apparent, and the assets of the work have long been recognized; in addition, the principal relevance for the present study is in its theoretical foundations, and these we will return to for a more penetrating discussion in Chapter Three.

## 5. Conclusions.

Earlier in the chapter we used the metaphor of a bridge to illustrate the two elements of the communication process we would be evaluating in each of our authors. I have found each of them wanting to some degree with regard to one or the other of these two elements.

This, I want to underline here, does not mean I reject them; I have found each of these books helpful, and many others as well whose weaknesses and failings have been far more significant. The choice of these authors' works was not because they are particularly glaring examples of these "weaknesses," but rather because they are so close to a proper balance.

Permit me an illustration from a different realm altogether: a sporting competition, where the performance is measured aesthetically. In a 10-metre diving competition, for example, two divers might do an identical dive with exactly the same execution, both making the same error (let's say, a large splash instead of a small one, on entering the water), but

---

84 p. 24.

one is more graceful in the air than the other; the more graceful should in theory receive the higher award. In fact, experience proves this not to be the case, and the less graceful one receives the higher award. This is because the error is the more obvious in the dive which is the closer to "perfection" — that is, the more perfect the "ensemble," the more glaringly obvious the exceptions to that perfection.

This is the case here: the books examined in this chapter and the next are among the best text-linguistic studies available to the hebraist. Their inadequacies are the more obvious because they are seen against the background of their significant contributions to Hebrew studies.

Niccacci's book has been welcomed as an excellent study on Hebrew macro-syntax. Its major failing is its difficulty in handling "discourse" material — as the category is too broadly defined, the patterns within it do not emerge, and false conclusions are drawn.

Eskhult shares the same weakness, but the final result is slightly different. Where Niccacci concludes that "discourse" is a category with different rules, and much more nebulous ones, Eskhult concludes that "aspect," rather than text-type, governs distribution of forms. He misses out the principal conditioning factors, and focuses on secondary ones.

Andersen, on the other hand, does not fail so much at the theoretical level, but rather in the communication of his results. His impressive work is all too readily shelved without thorough study because it demands so much of the reader. Linguists with a rich background in theory often forget that the average reader will not understand their jargon, and will therefore not benefit from the exceptional terseness which is frequently the goal of linguists. A treatise on putting on a pair of socks, or repairing a blocked drain, could be written in such a scientific way as to be utterly incomprehensible to the layman — and, at least in the case of the blocked drain, the layman would be the worse off. If research is intended to make a contribution to the layman's world, it must be communicated to him in a way which makes it accessible to him. Andersen certainly cannot be singled out as the worst offender in this, but it is a mark against this book that it does not communicate readily to those who would benefit most from its insights.

1. Introduction.

We move on now to two other recent works: Khan's Studies, and Longacre's Joseph; I have mentioned above my reasons for examining them together.<sup>1</sup> Khan's work will not occupy our attention for any great length, as his topic does not feature highly in the data which I myself examine; Longacre's will require the bulk of this chapter.

2. Khan, Studies in Semitic Syntax.

This study adopts a "comparative Semitic" approach, examining data from Arabic, Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, Akkadian, and Amharic. The breadth of data consulted is compensated for by the narrowness of topic: Khan treats only the subjects of "extrapositional sentences (Ex)" and "pronominal agreement constructions with resumptive pronouns (PAR)," which he defines as follows:

By the term 'extraposition' I understand the syntactic construction in which a noun or nominal phrase stands isolated at the front of a clause without any formal connection to the predication. The initial 'extraposed' nominal is not adjoined to any relational particle such as a preposition or an object marker and in those languages which have a case inflection it is generally in the nominative. The grammatical relation of nominal in the predication is usually indicated vicariously by means of a co-referential resumptive pronoun . . . .

'Pronominal agreement' is a construction where a noun or nominal phrase whose grammatical relation is indicated by its case inflection or by an adjoining relational particle is accompanied in the same clause by a co-referential pronoun agreeing with it in number, gender, person, and grammatical relation.

Unlike extraposed nominals, nominals which are accompanied by such 'agreement pronouns' are not restricted to initial position but may occur anywhere in the clause — the front, the interior, or the end . . . .

---

1 §1.1.; in brief, I consider these two to be the best examples available to the hebraist, of works with a positive view of text-linguistic research — Khan, for his clarity of communication, and integrity of methodology; and Longacre, for the rich potential of his theory, and the astute insights he offers into the text-level structures of Classical Hebrew.

Pronominal agreement constructions in which the 'agreed with' nominal occurs at the front of the clause are closely allied to extraposition.<sup>2</sup>

This book is well-organized, and likewise very well-written. The introductory chapter opens with some general statements on language functions, then moves on to [fairly lucid] definitions of terms, choice of languages (and sources from which data were taken), a brief yet thorough examination of previous literature on these two constructions, and a section on contemporary linguistic theory. Khan then outlines his own presuppositions and methodology,<sup>3</sup> with definitions given for more specific technical terms. The term "discourse" is once again in prominence, and in this case is defined obliquely as a "certain stretch of text";<sup>4</sup> and although Khan does not clarify this further, it is to be understood as a rather vague category of a large body of text – his term 'span of discourse' seems more akin to Longacre's 'discourse'.<sup>5</sup>

One of the points made in Khan's section on methodology is that, with each separate language, he divides his treatment of these constructions into two sections: the first deals with the "taxonomy," or internal structure, of the constructions; the second, with their functions within their wider context; each of the languages mentioned above is examined in this manner, in chapters 1 through 5. This is one of the greatest strengths of this book; Khan separates the "observable" from the "interpreted."

The book concludes with a chapter on Comparative Semitic Syntax, which examines the principles and merits of this discipline. Khan writes:

Comparative Semitic syntax is not only of interest to the general language typologist but is also of direct relevance for the Semitist in so far as it helps

---

2 pp. xxvi-xxvii; Khan's n. 2 inserts here: 'Indeed in some cases the two constructions are indistinguishable, cf. 108, 160.'

3 pp. xxxiii, ff.

4 p. xxxiii.

5 Or my 'text'; see below, this chapter, and the following.

to clarify the understanding of features in the individual Semitic languages.<sup>6</sup>

Khan's work is restrained, and although he does not claim to be describing the macro-syntax of any of the languages he works on, he describes very well the text-level functions of these features. Had he chosen to work "from the top down,"<sup>7</sup> he would have had to consider many more syntactic features than he has done, describing each as an option available for use at the higher levels; however, working "from the bottom up"<sup>8</sup> allows him to describe only these particular features; he need only describe the function of his chosen constructions, noting their effect on — and their function in — higher-level units. One might say that Niccacci, for example, is engaged in this same "from the bottom up" sort of work; he, however, attempts to describe the macro-syntax of the language by describing the micro-syntax, while Khan, on the other hand, describes a specific, limited, and closely related pair of features in terms of both its structure (micro-syntactic components) and its function (which includes its macro-syntactic significance).

Khan moves very well from micro-syntax to macro-syntax. The organisation and lucid style of this work contribute a sense of "flow" from the level of internal structure to that of contributions to macro-structure. Khan looks first at the bits and pieces making up his two constructions, and then looks at how these two constructions become "bits and pieces" which help to make up other, larger, constructions.<sup>9</sup> One is instructed first in how a certain drawer is made, and then how that drawer forms an integral part of the desk.

---

6 p. 233; I believe that the same is true of what we have been calling "language universals" — for, the more we understand the working of the human mind with regard to its use of language, the better we will understand the vagueries of Classical Hebrew.

7 That is, if he had chosen to start with a text or a text-type (both of which I am doing), and describe the variety of macrosyntactic features found therein, then moving from this level to the level below it (to paragraph), and to the one below that (to sentence), and so on.

8 Starting, in this case, at the clause-level, and moving from there to sentence, and paragraph, and beyond.

9 This is one of the basic concepts of "Tagmemic" linguistic theory, which will be unpacked in Chapter Three.

This is a model presentation of research; it demonstrates clearly the elegance of description which is the ideal of a descriptive linguist. The clarity of this book, and the thoroughness of its treatment of this topic, particularly with the comparative methodology, are its principal strengths. If one must cite a draw-back, it would be that the topic is narrow, and provides little general insight into the system as a whole of any particular language examined; however, by contrast with Niccacci, for example, Khan does not attempt this goal. Would that this were but a chapter in a much larger work detailing a far wider range of syntactic and macro-syntactic features.

Ex and PAR are constructions which can be considered 'exceptional' clause-types in the same sense that a Hebrew noun phrase which includes an attributive adjective or participle can be considered exceptional; both are developments away from the simplest and most common constructions of their type. As these constructions occur but rarely in the data which I examine there is little overlap between Khan's work and my own.<sup>10</sup>

Khan notes that Ex and PAR "perform the same functions and are in most cases interchangeable," and that "one of the most widespread functions of Ex and PAR clauses is to mark the boundaries of spans of discourse. They coincide with either the *onset* or the *closure* of a span."<sup>11</sup> My own findings agree with these conclusions: exceptional clauses (of which Ex and PAR clauses are examples) *always mark in some way an interruption of the continuity of the material being presented*. The effect that these particular constructions produce does not appear to be linked to the text-type in which they are used; this may be due to the fact that they are exceptions more to micro-syntactic than to macro-syntactic (and, therefore, text-type-based) standards.

Khan's Table of Contents is perhaps the best summary of his approach to this

---

10 Therefore my principal interest in this book, for this volume, is with reference to its methodology and its presentation.

11 p. 78.

material;<sup>12</sup> his excellent organization allows the reader to see at a glance the way he works through the functions of these two constructions in Biblical Hebrew, and his awareness of other macro-syntactic structures.<sup>13</sup>

Khan adjoins an appendix to his chapter on Hebrew dealing with the special case of the use of these constructions in "legal precepts," and writes,

Extraposition occurs particularly frequently in the structure of legal formulae in the Old Testament. This is also the case with regard to post-Biblical law corpora which were composed in Hebrew, e.g. the Qumran text *serek hayyahad* (The Rule of the Community) and the halakic works of the Tannaim. It is convenient, therefore, to devote a separate section to extrapositional structures which are characteristic of this genre of text, bringing together for the sake of completeness both Biblical and post-Biblical law formulae.<sup>14</sup>

Khan has done well to separate out this particular context for special attention due to the frequency of occurrence in these texts. However, I am not convinced that this actually forms an alien usage of this construction; rather it seems to me just another context in which the construction performs the function of 'change of topic' — a function he has noted and described on pp. 79ff. Due to the relatively "topic-intensive" nature of legal material,<sup>15</sup> the topics of legal regulation change from one to the next fairly rapidly; that Ex and PAR — possible topic-changing mechanisms — are found in greater frequency in legal material than in other text-types is not enormously surprising.

Khan's work is a model of good scholarship and excellent presentation. I can find no flaws in it which impede its usefulness. We can hope that such successful research and

---

12 In particular, pp. xv-xvi.

13 Cf. §1.3; I find his interest in comparing the features on which he chooses to focus, with those which can perform the same function, a great strength of his approach. We will look at this perspective in greater detail in the rest of this volume, in particular in Chapter Three.

14 p. 98.

15 In the sense that it tends to incorporate a lot of information into as little space as possible.



communication becomes more and more common in our literature.

### 3. Longacre: Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence : a text theoretical and textlinguistic analysis of Genesis 37 and 39-48.

#### 3.1. General remarks and background.

This book represents the most significant advancement in Hebrew textlinguistics seen to date; it contains much of near-revolutionary value to the student of Classical Hebrew syntax. Several of Longacre's contributions are of the sort which are immediately accessible to the readership, and which prepare the way for a much clearer (more "elegant") description of the language. Others are more esoteric, but equally important.

On the other hand, this volume suffers from some of the same difficulties as does Andersen's, in that it contains *so much* information that it becomes difficult to sort through. Where Andersen's difficulty, however, was that of relying too heavily on jargon for the average readership, Longacre's is more a matter of leap-frogging over too many steps in the theoretical logic, thus leaving behind all but the most astute reader, and fellow linguists (although even fellow linguists may not follow, if they are not familiar with the Tagmemic approach to language).<sup>16</sup>

At the outset of this examination of Joseph, it will not be out of place to mention one of the reasons why this work is particularly valuable — a reason which is not related to the study of Hebrew in particular.

Much of the development of the Tagmemic school of linguistics has taken place "in the field." Literally. The primary movers in this theoretical development have spent, between them well over a century working among indigenous populations, and with previously unanalysed language material — and following this, perhaps the double of that in processing data from as wide a range of the world's languages as possible, for theoretical purposes.

---

16 Longacre does include a 3-page appendix on tagmemic theory (pp. 311-13), from which we quote at length in the next chapter, but this is inadequate to the task of "educating" the readership up to a standard where the book becomes easier to follow.



Tagmemics, as an approach to the data, developed — from its "birth" in the fifties<sup>17</sup> — out of dissatisfaction with the fact that previously accepted theoretical models of language analysis did not deal well enough with living language data. A new model, which had an increased capacity to "learn from" discoveries in real language data, was developed, which worked from simple basics, but which allowed for fine details of language use. This capacity to "learn from" real language data has produced a theoretical model which finds the basic patterns, and the permutations thereof, of any language studied; the results of these analyses are particularly well-suited for comparative linguistic research. The end result is that "language universals" are constantly compared with data from specific languages in a way which advances the study of both. Longacre has long been at the forefront of this development, and is without doubt the text-linguist with the greatest exposure to the breadth of the world's language data, of anyone in print today.<sup>18</sup>

A sample of the kind of collation of language data resulting in an appreciation of language universals is the following:

The successive events of a narrative paragraph may be given as a series of what I call build-ups, each in a separate sentence, or the whole narrative action may be expressed in one long run-on sentence with but one final verb at its end, i.e. in a one-sentence paragraph. What is the rationale of this choice? Is this pure caprice?

At this point the study of whole discourses is helpful. In fact, a perusal of the Wojekeso corpus of text material (Longacre 1972a, Text<sup>19</sup>) suggests a

---

17 Kenneth L. Pike's Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior (first published in 3 vols., 1954-1960, Summer Institute of Linguistics) is the seminal work of this approach.

18 This is not an idle claim: Longacre, after working for many years in the field on the languages of indigenous people groups of Mexico, has gone on to work with Pacific, North American, and African languages (in each case, he has worked with not one, but scores, of languages from these regions), in addition to the biblical languages; the bibliography in Joseph lists twenty articles and books — only a fraction of his publications.

19 I.e. Longacre's Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages, Two volumes: Discussion, Texts Washington: Georgetown University Press 1972.

resolution of the problem. There is a narrative discourse which has narrative paragraphs composed of fair-to-middling-length sentences until one reaches what is really the *denouement* of the whole story. At this point, we find a long run-on structure in which all the events are lumped together in one paragraph-length sentence. Similarly, we have a procedural discourse on housebuilding, in which likewise we find sentences of fair-to-middling length until we reach the *target procedure* where the house is finished and the couple move in to spend their first night in it. Here again we find a long run-on one-sentence paragraph in which all the steps of the paragraph are in one page-length sentence. Sentence is here being used in both narrative and procedural discourse to mark the *peak* of the discourse in the surface structure, which corresponds to either denouement in narrative discourse, or to target procedure in procedural discourse.

Parallels are not lacking elsewhere. Thus, Charles Green has pointed out to me that a not dissimilar phenomenon is found in Hemingway's story, "The short happy life of Francis Macomber." Here, at the climax of the story where the main character of the story is shot in the back of the head (accidentally?) by his wife, we find a long run-on, rollicking sentence not unlike in kind from what we have mentioned in the Wojekeso discourses. Something similar is found in the text of the Greek New Testament. We find in the account of the feeding of the five thousand (Matthew 14: 13-21) an absolutely unparalleled string of participles in sentence-initial position precisely at the denouement of the account (Matthew 14:19), where Jesus takes the loaves, multiplies them, and feeds the people.<sup>20</sup>

This adulation may seem out of place; his credentials, however, are not likely to have preceded him very far into this discipline — though not for want of influence — Khan, for example, writes:

My methodology has been inspired mainly by the work of Joseph Grimes, Robert Longacre, and Teun van Dijk. The value of their approach to the analysis of discourse is that it is largely empirical. This applies especially to the work of Grimes and Longacre, who have both carried out extensive field work in a large number of language communities.<sup>21</sup>

---

20 Longacre, "Discourse," pp. 30f.

21 p. xxxiv; In a note on this section, Khan writes, "Andersen's study of the sentence in Biblical Hebrew was in fact based mainly on the methodology which was developed by Longacre"; he states later, in the text, "I have, however, rejected the more abstract methods of discourse analysis, many of which are still embroiled in theoretical preliminaries and show little concern for the direct analysis of texts" (in loc. cit., reflecting in his own approach the priorities established by the Tagmemic school of linguistics).



Most of Longacre's writing has been for linguists — in particular, field linguists — thus it is not surprising that few hebraists are aware of his work; that this book needs to be given considerable attention, will not be immediately evident to the average biblical scholar.<sup>22</sup>

### 3.2. Contents of the book.

Joseph is organised into four parts.<sup>23</sup> Part One introduces the text-unit (Genesis 37 and 39–48), and gives the broader interpretive and text-linguistic features of the story; Part Two looks at the unit in terms of textlinguistic observations (more specific to the language features, such as "off-the-line" material; יִדִּי and its text-level functions, etc., than his comments in Part One) and sociolinguistic observations (relating primarily to questions of mitigation and deference in Hortatory portions of Reported Speech). Part Three focuses on Participant Reference, and Dialogue. Part Four is a presentation of the entire text examined in this study, presented in a typographical arrangement intended to high-light the text-linguistic features noted in the preceding analysis (particularly those commented on in Part Two). This is followed by a short appendix on Tagmemic linguistic theory.

---

22 In fact, only one of the entries under his name in the bibliography of Joseph was published in the literature hebraists are most likely to consult — hence my rather fulsome accounting of his background and achievements: although his is not a name on the lips of most biblical scholars (as they will not have seen much of his published material), he is one who has earned the right to speak with authority on the subject at hand.

23 pp. 209–310; I will follow Longacre's convention of italicising the word *Joseph*, when it is used to indicate "the Joseph story" — when he uses the word in single inverted commas ('Joseph'), he refers to the Hebrew word יִדִּי, and the word is unmarked when he refers to the individual — I will underline the word where I intend reference to the volume under discussion here.

### 3.3. Specific comments on the contents.

#### 3.3.1 Part One.

The broader movement of this book is discernable from the table of Contents, once the intricacies of the individual chapters are understood. Longacre starts by setting the broader context — the whole of the historical material, from Genesis 1 through to the end of 2 Kings — and presenting part of his methodology (Introduction), then moves to the narrower context of the *tōlēdōt* of Jacob.<sup>24</sup> Here he looks at the articulation of episodes in the *Joseph* story, examining devices which signal boundaries of the major sections (Chapter One). In Chapter Two he looks at "macro-structures" — by which he means "an overall meaning and plan"<sup>25</sup> So in Ch. 1, he has presented the surface structure organisation of the story, and in Ch. 2 he looks at the underlying flow of *issues, meaning and plan*.

#### 3.3.2. Part Two.

In Part Two, Longacre presents a more meticulous analysis of the surface structure of the language, and it is here that we begin to see the revolutionary ideas he has to offer. His summary of the assumptions and conclusions of this section is unusual, as it approaches the grammar of this language in a manner significantly different from that seen in the majority of current Hebrew language studies:

---

24 His understanding of the way *Joseph* fits into its nearer context leads him to leap over the Judah and Tamar section (Gen. 38) — an approach which will not appeal to all; in addition the explanatory material concerning his decision is pared to a minimum, where it would have contributed to the reader's understanding of how this author has come to the conclusions he does.

25 p. 43; my own use of the term is to refer to the constituent structure of the largest units of language, therefore referring to "episodes" of a story, etc. — but in the sense of the surface structure itself (paragraphs, etc.), rather than the "notional" or "deep" (cognitive) level. To refer to what Longacre terms "macrostructure," I would probably borrow his alternative expression: "overall meaning and plan." His term is derived from van Dijk's work (see his "References" section, p. 316); my own is less well-connected, but will suffice for its application for the present.

Typically, within a grammar of a given language all the uses of each tense/aspect or mode of a language are listed and described en bloque in the same section of the grammar . . . . Part 2 of this volume is, among other things, a challenge to this time-honored way of describing the functions of the verb forms of a verb system within a language. Rather, I posit here that (a) every language has a system of discourse types (e.g., narrative, predictive, hortatory, precedural, expository, and others); (b) each discourse type has its own characteristic constellation of verb forms that figure in that type; (c) the uses of [a] given tense/aspect/mood form are most surely and concretely described in relation to a given discourse type. These assumptions inform chapters 3, 4, and 5 of this volume, where they are illustrated in regard to narrative, predictive, expository, and hortatory discourse.

The constellation of verb forms that figure in a given discourse type are structured so that one or more privileged forms constitute the mainline or backbone of each type, while other forms can be shown to encode progressive degrees of departure from the mainline. This is developed empirically in chapter 3 in regard to narrative discourse and the verb forms that characterize it. Here the *waw*-consecutive imperfect is seen to be mainline in that it is punctiliar, and sequential in function; the perfect is found to be (as a whole) a non-punctiliar and non-sequential kind of past tense in narrative; the imperfect and the participles are, respectively, implicitly and explicitly durative in the framework of the story; *hāyā* clauses and verbless clauses represent stative elements toward the bottom of the scheme; and negated clauses rank lowest.

In regard to these various matters, Biblical Hebrew can be shown more and more to be a rather run-of-the-mill example of a language with a special narrative or "consecutive" tense — a statement that can be easily documented in regard to the narrative structures of a variety of African languages (cf. Longacre, in press). Some of the latter have consecutive forms that necessarily depend on a special initial form that must precede them; other such languages simply have a special consecutive form that need not have a special initial form to initiate the chain in narrative. Biblical Hebrew belongs to the latter type of language, but traditionally has been described as if it belongs to the former type. Thus the legend has grown up that a *waw*-consecutive perfect must similarly follow an imperfect (or some other tense/aspect/mood form).<sup>26</sup>

Longacre's Chapter Three discusses the different kinds of clauses one can find in Narrative

---

26 pp. 59f.; it is strongly tempting to go on — the material which follows this is equally significant — but we will return to discuss these elements in our Chapter Three.

History,<sup>27</sup> dividing them into "on-the-line" and "off-the-line" options. Longacre writes:

Discourse grammarians are coming to recognize more and more that in the telling of a story, one particular tense is favored as the carrier of the back-bone or storyline of the story while other tenses serve to present the background, supportive, and depictive material in the story.<sup>28</sup>

and further:

I have assumed, then, that the storyline or the backbone of a discourse in Biblical Hebrew is conveyed by the use of clauses that begin with a *waw*-consecutive verb — in the balance of this book simply called the *preterite*.<sup>29</sup>

Included in this section is a reference to וַיְהִי, which is worth quoting in toto:

It is immediately necessary, however, to qualify the above hypothesis in one important particular. The verb *hāyâ*, 'be', even in its form *wayhî*, 'and it

happened', does not function on the storyline of a narrative. In this respect, the behavior of Hebrew is similar to that of a great many contemporary languages around the world. For example, English uses its past tense to encode the storyline of a story, but the verb *be* (and some other stative verbs) — even when in the past tense (for example, forms such as *was*, *were*, — is typically descriptive and depictive and does not figure on the backbone of a story. This is simply a peculiarity of the verb *be*, in many languages past and present.<sup>30</sup>

Longacre adds to these insights discussions of permutations of the mainline

---

27 Longacre's term is simply "narrative" — I will use my own terms for text-types throughout this examination of *Joseph*; they will be explained more fully in my own Chapter Three.

28 p. 64; this comment develops from an allusion to GKC's recognition "that the so-called *waw*-consecutive is a special narrative tense" [in loc. cit.].

29 p. 65; Longacre chooses the term "preterite" in order to disassociate this conjugation from the "prefixal" conjugation, on the basis that the two are apparently historically unrelated.

30 p. 66.



clause-type, then looks at off-the-line material, giving a description of the potential offline clause-types for Narrative History.<sup>31</sup>

In sub-section 3. of Chapter 3, we come upon "a verbal rank scheme" for Narrative History;<sup>32</sup> this is one of the most immediately accessible — and one of the most revolutionary — contributions of the book. Longacre here presents, on half a page, a summary of the way clause-types function in Narrative History, in the form of a "cline"<sup>33</sup> (see next page).

In the next two chapters, Longacre posits verb rank clines for Predictive and Hortatory text-types, and describes verb ranking for Expository, as well, though he "declines" to posit a cline for the last, citing the need for more analysis of Expository material in the Hebrew Bible, as the reason for his hesitation.<sup>34</sup>

(I am neither fully confident, nor strongly sceptical, with regard to these charts. Can we really understand this language so well as to say that there are *eleven functionally discernible layers of clause-types* in Narrative History? I incline toward confidence, but am still somewhat doubtful. On the one hand, our data are rather limited — but on the other hand, Longacre has analysed such a vast array of language data that this small corpus does not hinder his analyses the way it would tend to do the analyses of others; he has, in other publications, exhibited restraint in what he claims to find in the data, and his expertise in language analysis is ample recommendation for hearing him out on this question. Nevertheless, Longacre claims an accuracy for the chart, and its detailed set of "subrankings," about which I am less than 100% convinced.)

---

31 The table of sub-sections, above, lists each of these "permutations" and off-line clause-types.

32 Longacre, by contrast with Niccacci, writes: "I do not find per se that the grand dichotomy verb clause versus noun clause is useful. Rather I absorb it into a rank scheme that can be thought of as the *verbal spectrum for narrative* . . . . In this scheme I assume a cline, a structural slope from clauses that are relatively dynamic to clauses that are relatively static . . . [p. 81; cf. Niccacci, §6, pp. 23ff.].

33 Which he defines as "a scheme symbolising degrees of departure from the storyline" [p. 82, n. 6].

34 p. 107, for Predictive; p. 121, for Hortatory; and pp. 111f., for Expository. I will not include these charts here, as they will be reproduced in the following chapter.

## NARRATIVE DISCOURSE VERB-RANK CLINE<sup>35</sup>

---

Band 1:	1. Preterite
Storyline	
<hr/>	
Band 2:	2.1. Perfect
Backgrounded	2.2. Noun + perfect (with noun in focus)
Actions	
<hr/>	
Band 3:	3.1. hinnēh + participle
Backgrounded	3.2. Participle
Activities	3.3. Noun + participle
<hr/>	
Band 4:	4.1. Preterite of haya, "be"
Setting	4.2. Perfect of haya, "be"
	4.3. Nominal clause (verbless)
	4.4. Existential clause with yes
<hr/>	
Band 5:	5. Negation of verb clause: irrealis
	(any band) — "momentous negation" <sup>36</sup>
	promotes 5. to 2.1./2.2.
<hr/>	

We now have the mixed pleasure of seeing this model become even more complex, in that we can look not only at "discourse" identities, but also at paragraph identities. Longacre has differentiated certain language universals concerning the nature and functions of paragraphs (cf. his "An Apparatus for the Identification of Paragraph Types," 1980), based on their structures and functions, and describes nine types of paragraphs (sequence, simple, reason, result, comment, amplification, paraphrase, coordinate, and antithetical),<sup>37</sup> each of which may be encoded differently according to the text-type in which they occur — i.e., a narrative reason paragraph will not be encoded in exactly the same manner as an expository

---

<sup>35</sup> p. 81.

<sup>36</sup> "Momentous negation" describes the situation where the absence of a certain event carries the narrative line forward (Longacre gives the example of the failure of the dove to return to the ark in the Flood Story, p. 82).

<sup>37</sup> See *Joseph*, p. 85ff.



reason paragraph.

Longacre's definitions of paragraph, and especially of sentence, are distinctive enough to warrant mention at this point. Paragraphs are identified as such by their internal structure: "any group of sentences that go together by virtue of cohesion and/or coherence can be shown to have the structure of an (embedded) paragraph of a recognizable type."<sup>38</sup> "Sentences" are "the basic building blocks of the paragraph"; and "a sentence in Hebrew is considered to be basically a unit with a main clause (and a main verb), to which may be attached such subordinate clauses as adverbial clauses and relative clauses."<sup>39</sup>

In the remainder of Part 2, Longacre offers examples of the paragraph types he has found in *Joseph*. This goes at a stunning pace, and if one is not already familiar with Longacre's approach to paragraph analysis and identification, he will be hard pressed to make sense of it.<sup>40</sup> In the long run, the section on paragraphs yields little readily accessible material; and comprehension of this material is rendered the more difficult due to lack of thorough explanation of how paragraphs enter into the interworkings of clauses and texts, which we see so succinctly and lucidly displayed in his "clines."

### 3.3.3. Part Three.

These verb-clines are a radical innovation in the description of the Hebrew verb-system; Longacre, however, goes beyond the verbs to other elements of Biblical Hebrew. With reference to "discourse-level" analysis, he describes the verb-system as one string in a "double-helix"<sup>41</sup> — the other being composed of participant reference and speech interaction.

---

38 p. 62.

39 p. 84.

40 This is more evidence that the book was written with a strong bias toward communicating with linguists, rather than hebraists — another detail which points in this direction is that all the Hebrew is transliterated, and this is certainly not due to publishing difficulties as was the case with Andersen's Sentence [see his note on p. 16]. But then, Longacre's goal here is to give us the benefit of his finest thinking on the subject — he can hardly be expected to give a full introductory course in general and text-linguistics at the same time.

41 p. 140

Part One of his book dealt with macrostructures and the larger context of the Joseph story; Part Two analyzed the verbs<sup>42</sup> according to discourse and paragraph types. Part Three addresses the question of these latter elements.

The third section is structured as follows: Chapter Six looks at participant reference (nouns, pronouns and verb affixes), Chapter Seven at variants in speech-introduction formulae, and Chapter Eight at the role of dialogue in the narrative. One might say that clause-types, paragraph-types, and text-types, are the bones of the text; participant reference, speech formulae, and dialogue, are the soft-tissue of the text.<sup>43</sup>

The reader will do well to keep a finger at pages 141–43 while working through Ch. 6, for, while the theoretical base of this section is more accessible than that of the section on paragraphs, Dr Longacre tends to refer to it in rather abbreviated (if not jargonal) terms. In addition, everything in this chapter refers to the "level" of participant reference; and yet — by oversight, apparently — these levels are never identified as such: three lists are given; none of these refers, in their titles, in their contents, nor in the notes following, to "levels" of any sort; the reader eventually discerns that it is the first list which supplies us with the appropriate key, but such opacities as these are not required in an already difficult book.

The analysis is rather unremarkable except for one thing; the author writes:

One cannot read *Joseph* carefully without being puzzled by the alternation between references on level 4 (pronouns) and on level 5 (verb affixes) in relation to expressing the object (which is almost entirely a matter of the third person object since *Joseph* is a narrative told in third person). I propose here the view that resort to level 5 (the object suffix) rather than to level 4 (sign of accusative 'et + pronoun) has to do not with thematicity as such but rather with dominance patterns . . . . Succinctly, level 5 is used rather than level 4 to express a dominance pattern in which the participant(s)

---

42 It is worth mentioning, in passing, that what Longacre has looked at in Part Two is not verbs, but rather clause-types — although he himself, on most occasions, speaks of them as verbs.

43 Implying no particular qualities to any of the categories, merely underlining their integration and mutuality.

referred to by the object suffix is under the dominance of someone else.<sup>44</sup>

After reaffirming his belief that this does indeed accurately reflect the data in the Joseph story, he goes on to state:

Further research is needed to see whether this claim can be extended to Biblical Hebrew as a whole. Whatever the outcome of this question, it seems clear that this claim cannot be made in regard to certain non-narrative discourses, e.g., the poetry of the Psalms.<sup>45</sup>

Chapter Six is 16 pages long; its contents are condensed from what might have been 40 pages were it written in "plain English." This section is meant to prepare us to make use of the participant reference interplay, along with the paragraph structures, the "discourse-level" peaks and boundaries, and so on, of Part Four. It seems to me an inadequate preparation for one not already schooled in tracing participant reference, and in interpreting it along with other clues from the "discourse-" or text-level.<sup>46</sup>

Next, after leading the reader through some more rather "jargon-ish" analysis in Ch. 7,<sup>47</sup> the author gives a concise summary of his findings about speech-introduction formulae, which findings are derived not only from the Joseph story, but also from other material in the Hebrew Bible; this summary, once the jargon has been sifted through contains material which could easily inspire hebraists to further examination of data — in short, it indicates the significance for the narration, of speech formula variants.<sup>48</sup>

Chapter Eight is perhaps not as revolutionary for Hebrew linguistics as is the earlier material on verb ranks, but is in its own way significant. The chapter opens with

---

44 p. 155.

45 p. 157, n2.

46 Although, as we have said, the author was surely not trying to write an introductory textbook on analysis procedures, it nevertheless behooves a writer to convey sufficient introductory material to allow interested readers to follow the development of ideas.

47 Where, once again, the crucial information about the "calculus" employed is difficult to locate; in this instance it is hid at the end of the paragraph §1.2., on p. 162.

48 p. 183f.

It is obvious, even on cursory examination, that much of the narrative we have been examining is carried forward via sections of dialogue. A story moves along not only by virtue of what people are reported to do, but also by what they say. Saying is indeed a special kind of doing for which we reserve the special name *speech act*.<sup>49</sup>

Longacre has two foci here: 1) he examines each dialogue for its internal nuances; and 2) he examines this material to see how it fits into the overall structure and flow of the narrative. The significance of this is that we must look at speech material as a narrative device for the advancement of the story-line, in addition to considering it as a stylistic technique or simply as a reflection of speech patterns of daily life – conversations are narrative units in the same way that simple narrative statements are narrative units.

The conclusion to this chapter serves, in a way, as a conclusion to the whole book, for what follows. Part Four ('A Constituent Display of *Joseph*'), and an appendix on Tagmemic linguistic theory, are somewhat loosely tied to the rest of the work. Longacre writes:

In backing away a bit from the mass of detail presented in this chapter and in considering again the constituent structure of the story as a whole, I note that the narrative sequence paragraph and the simpler sort of dialogue paragraph carry in a somewhat routine way the burden of propelling the story forward. Most other paragraph types (excluding probably the narrative amplification paragraph) have other more specialized uses. Among the paragraphs that picture interaction patterns, the complex dialogue, the execution, and the stimulus-response paragraphs especially serve to underscore the more dramatic parts of the story. These paragraph types have, therefore been analyzed with special attention to details of their structure; they are too important to the structure of the whole to be passed over lightly and summarily.<sup>50</sup>

#### 3.3.4. Part Four.

Part Four is Longacre's presentation of a formatted text of *Joseph*, with its

---

49 p. 185.

50 p. 205

translation. If one has internalised the system and the calculus of Longacre's approach to the text — neither of which have been presented here for the first-time reader — there is much to be gained from studying this section. If one is not familiar with his approach, this section is at best, fascinating, and at worst, thoroughly off-putting. In the main, Part Four is a graphic presentation of the text according to the analyses sampled in the preceding pages; it lays out the text in a fashion which allows the reader (if he has digested the formatting code<sup>51</sup>) to see, at a glance, the text in terms of its structure and sub-structures, as they have surfaced through Longacre's analysis. This is a very useful tool to have at hand, but — as is an inherent danger with all reductions from verbal explanation to graphic representation — it is difficult to make use of unless one has mastered theory in excess of what Longacre presents in this book.

### 3.4. Conclusions.

Much of what Longacre has presented us with is new, or rather, it has not been seen before in publications intended for hebraists' eyes — this sort of thing has been circulating in the linguistic circles long enough that the word "new" is not entirely appropriate. What we have seen here — the concept of text-types, each with their own deployment of clause-types; the necessity of describing a form in terms of its role in specific text-types; the concept of mainline versus offline material, with the identification of the "preterite" as the mainline form in Narrative history, excepting such forms of *היה* — these, as well as participant reference tracking, speech formula variations, hortatory variants, and other features as well, are relatively uncharted territory for the hebraist. And, apart from a few shortcuts in explanations, and a few oversights in formatting, the presentation is not exceptionally difficult to get through, provided the reader takes the time to internalise the hoard of new concepts. There is an enormous amount of material to get to grips with, however, and it is difficult 1) to make sense of it as a whole, and 2) to know what to do

---

51 which must have given the typesetters nightmares!

with it afterward.

A part of me feels that the only response one can offer is applause: it's been a jolly good performance, and I shall remember it fondly, but I couldn't hope to do any of it myself. And that, in fact, is one of the things I am not entirely happy about, with regard to this book. It is so far beyond the level of language work done by most Hebrew scholars that its effect may be minimalised as a result. But, then, this is not a manual for analysis; it is a book about a text. Longacre writes — I think we can say — enough introductory material about his approach to the text, to enable the reader to gain at least cursory benefit from his reading.

This point is, of course, debatable; but it is disappointing that there is nothing available to hebraists, which equips them *as hebraists* — rather than forcing them far outside their field — to do the kinds of research that hebraists are beginning to find intriguing. That is to say, there is no doubt that linguistics is a science, and that thoroughly trained linguists will inevitably produce more incisive works than the marginally trained linguistic dabbler could hope to do; nonetheless, however, there is ample room for linguistic research among people whose training is primarily as hebraists.<sup>52</sup>

*It is time for an intermediate literature, neither "quantum" linguistics treatises which are only understood by other "quantum" linguists, nor unscientific, non-linguistic treatises which serve only to drive the study of Hebrew further away from empirical approaches to the language — but rather a literature which is intended to provide theory and methods which the hebraist is not overwhelmed by, a literature which is not afraid to proceed slowly enough that the reader can actually become familiar with the procedures, and return with them to the data to do his own testing of hypotheses.*

Khan's Studies, by contrast with Longacre's Joseph, is well explained, and doesn't overwhelm the reader with its contents, in part because it doesn't launch the reader into a new world quite so thoroughly as does Longacre's.

---

52 In fact, it is these who often have the deeper, intuitive, grasp of the sense of the text.

Because I find Longacre's approach to the text so valuable, and relatively accessible, at a logical level — and yet more or less intimidating in the guise of Joseph — the remaining three chapters of this volume will be given over to an explanation of this approach, and an application of some of its more basic principles to Hebrew text samples.



## CHAPTER THREE: AN INTRODUCTION TO ONE MODEL OF TEXT ANALYSIS, AND A METHODOLOGY DERIVED FROM IT

### 1. The Purpose of this Chapter, and its Relation to the Rest of this Volume.

I have cited the topic of this study as "the role(s) of different types of clauses in different types of texts";<sup>1</sup> and if the goal of the first two chapters has been to measure the success of those who have entered the field, by examining their "integrity of description" and the "effectiveness of their communication,"<sup>2</sup> then the goal of the two chapters which follow this one is to outline for the reader some of the first steps in producing an analysis which will pass both examinations. It is necessary, in that case, to set out some definitions, to tie together some concepts, and to detail the procedures to be used, in such a way that the reader is not left behind in the analyses which follow.

### 2. An Introduction to "Tagmemic" Theory.

In this section, we will look at several of the essential elements of the Tagmemic school of linguistics. But why should we do this? What is to be gained by focusing on this particular approach?

According to Longacre,

Broadly conceived, tagmemics is discourse about linguistics patterns. It is not interested merely in setting up abstract strings of symbols which will get us to terminal strings in the most economical way. To tagmemicists such preoccupation misses the point. Rather we want to posit in each language a system of labelled patterns that will at least to some degree parallel the system of intuitively felt patterns used by speaker and hearer. The patterns and parts of patterns that we posit must be labelled for the simple reason that we want to discourse about them. We want to be able to show the

---

1 Chapter One, §1.1.

2 Ibid.

system of patterns and to contrast one pattern with another.<sup>3</sup>

and Jones writes:

Linguistic tagmemics is concerned with discovering the patterns and regularities of language, and with stating these as consistently, systematically, and elegantly as possible.<sup>4</sup>

and

Of particular significance [in terms of contributions of the tagmemic approach to language analysis], I think, has been the focus by various tagmemicists on the discourse FUNCTIONS of various units and constructions. Longacre and his colleagues have found discourse functions for many particles and affixes that had previously been little understood or else simply glossed as "emphasis."<sup>5</sup> I (1977)<sup>6</sup> have suggested discourse functions for clefts, pseudo-clefts, and various other constructions in English. Larry Jones and I (1979)<sup>7</sup> have suggested that tense/aspect/mood, many particles, affixes, and some special constructions function in a number of languages to mark different levels of significant information in texts (e.g., to distinguish peak, pivotal events, ordinary events, significant background, and ordinary background). In discourse analysis, as well as other areas just mentioned, tagmemics offers a significant theory of linguistics.<sup>8</sup>

Longacre's comment about "setting up abstract strings of symbols which will get us to terminal strings in the most economical way" is intended to contrast tagmemics with the majority of other approaches to language description. He substantiates this contrast with a comparison of two different descriptions of Turkish verbs; the first is from Gleason, and Lees

---

3 "Tagmemics," pp. 137f.

4 "Synopsis," p.86.

5 Here we might refer to T. Muraoka, Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew (Jerusalem/Leiden: E J Brill 1985), which has examined a variety of morphemes and structures under the banner of "emphasis," some of which certainly have macro-syntactic significance, but which receive no consideration as macro-syntactic features.

6 L. K. Jones, Theme in English Expository Discourse. Lake Bluff, Illinois: Jupiter Press 1977.

7 L. B. Jones and L. K. Jones, "Multiple Levels of Information in Discourse," in L. K. Jones, ed., Discourse Studies in Mesoamerican Languages (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington 1979), pp. 3-27.

8 Ibid., pp. 94f.

("the usual Americanist way of plotting relative orders of affixes within a verb structure"<sup>9</sup>); the second is his own, tagmemically based, description. These two show the efficacy of the tagmemic approach in describing systems, rather than just sequences.<sup>10</sup>

This focus on systems, relative "user-friendliness," and "intuitively felt patterns" has encouraged the development in tagmemic circles of new ideas about the description of text-level features, and some of these are particularly helpful for the kind of work we are undertaking in this study.

The second reason for turning to tagmemics at this stage is that which is reflected in Longacre's comments about "intuitively felt patterns." We acknowledge immediately that we tell stories mostly in past tense, we give predictions mostly in future, etc. — tagmemics has provided a means of analyzing and describing that feature of language, in a simple and straight-forward manner. The fact that these and other features which we will address in this study are readily verifiable at the 'common sense' level means that we will not need, on the one hand, a lengthy and heavy introduction in all the details of the theory used, in order to see the validity of the results, nor, on the other hand, the encumbrance of a "write-up" filled with jargon and convoluted explanation. Tagmemics — for our purposes — gives us simple tools to work with, and then turns us loose to get to work. Our results will not look particularly tied to any one theory, and that is intentional; the things we want to describe in this study are readily accessible to a common sense approach to the language, once the analyst has been alerted to their possible presence, thus we do not need to bury them in theory specific communication.<sup>11</sup>

---

9 P. 138.

10 Pp. 138f.

11 Of course, our write-up will bear the imprint of our theoretical base, but this, it is hoped, will be relatively transparent. Likewise, it is obvious that in certain applications, the tagmemic approach will result in highly tagmemic-specific analytical write-ups (theoretical questions tend to require more jargon, and more short-hand type graphic representations than others, for example); nevertheless, in the case of a rather elementary description of the language features we are here examining, uncomplicated laymen's language will suffice for the presentation of results.

Jones remarks on the practical applications of tagmemics:

A primary task of a linguistics theory is to account for the empirical data. As an important corollary, the theory ought to have practical uses in dealing with language. There have been numerous practical applications of tagmemic theory, and I believe that the great applicability of tagmemics is a significant strength in its favor. One application has been as a heuristic for helping students to understand the nature of language. But this is not all. There have been numerous successful applications of the theory to translation, language learning, literacy, and linguistic analysis — particularly in the study of unwritten and "exotic" languages. In addition, there have been many applications in other disciplines, including most notably, anthropology (since tagmemics is a theory not only of language, but also of human behavior).<sup>12</sup>

For the analysis of unwritten languages, discovery procedures have evolved, perhaps better called ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES. These do NOT, however, constitute a mechanical algorithm that automatically outputs an analysis. Practical goals of a theory hold pure theory-building in check, since "fruitful theory must to some extent be limited by analytical techniques for processing or evaluating data. Tagmemics has oscillation between theory and method rather than a one-way priority. [Pike, 1967, p. 509<sup>13</sup>]."<sup>14</sup>

## 2.1. Foundations.

Our enquiry has to do with texts, and text-level features; and in this chapter we will be working through sufficient text-linguistic theory to approach the data in an informed manner. Yet many in the Tagmemic School of linguistics have eschewed text-linguistics in the same way as have classical hebraists: much of the material published by tagmemic linguists stays within the traditional bounds of clause-level analysis; this limits, from one direction, the amount of published material which can be drawn into this discussion of Classical Hebrew text-linguistics from a tagmemic viewpoint. The second limiting factor is that a great deal of

---

12 One might add here that one of the more unexpected applications of this theory has been in the field of music, or more specifically, ethnomusicology, and has resulted in a variety of analytical apparatuses with a very profitable degree of flexibility — an essential feature when dealing with non-western music systems.

13 His Language in Relation to a Unified Theory . . . .

14 Pp. 86f.

tagmemic publication takes the form of language "write-ups" — reports on features of a specific language, or grammars of specific languages: the majority of tagmemic publications are examples of language analysis, rather than explanations of it.<sup>15</sup> These are occasioned largely by the work of Wycliffe Bible Translators/Summer Institute of Linguistics workers, whose bible translation responsibilities require the parallel production of language descriptions. As this group of linguists comprises the greatest number of users of this linguistic school, so this format has become the standard one for publication of new results. Those trained in this school of linguistics are accustomed to looking for new ideas in reports on Bolivian ritual poetry, to help them solve difficult problems in the Narrative History of a Philippine language, for example, and are able to sort through such reports in a way that others do not attempt.<sup>16</sup> It is regrettable that there is little attempt at collation of this material for more ready use by other language students.<sup>17</sup>

Tagmemics has nonetheless produced one of the most functional and profitable text-linguistic theories available to those who take up an interest in the issue.<sup>18</sup> Here, we will

---

15 For example, the list of references in Longacre's "Discourse" (in Brend and Pike, *Tagmemics*, pp. 1-44) include 65 articles or books on tagmemic analysis; 39 of these (60%) are reports on specific languages (Western Bukidnon Manobo, Kaiwa Guarani, Daga, Isthmus Zapotec, and so on), and many address only specific features of these languages (e.g. Harold Popovich, "Large Grammatical Units and Space-Time Setting in Maxakali"); see his pp. 41ff.

16 These factors account for the relative paucity of references in my own bibliography and notes to tagmemic works; there is little point in extending the material to include such works as Harold Popovich's (cited in the previous footnote), as these do not bear to any great degree on those things which we must discuss here. I have included in this bibliography those works which are the most directly relevant to this work, and while I have not avoided language-specific materials (cf. David Payne's "Activity as the Encoding of Foreground in Narrative: A Case Study of an Asheninca Legend"), the actual number of books and articles on tagmemics is rather smaller than one might expect.

17 Longacre's "Discourse" is a rare example of a tagmemic article which is a collation and synopsis of language features rather than a description of language specific features.

18 For a closer look at the origins and development of this school of language analysis, I refer the reader to Viola G. Waterhouse's *The History and Development of Tagmemics*, 1974, to Linda K. Jones' "Synopsis of Tagmemics," and to Longacre's "Discourse" (in Brend and Pike), and "Tagmemics" (1985). The former two are partial to Kenneth Pike's approach, while I follow more closely Longacre's; those interested in comparing the two

look at some broader concepts which undergird the remainder of the material which follows; this will be divided into two sections. We will first deal with several basic *principles*; we will not interact to any significant degree with these broader concepts once they have been explained, but they are requisite elements of the endeavour. We will follow this with other features of the model which either are particularly important to the theoretical base (e.g. "Syntagmeme"), or will be referred to with some frequency in the analyses which follow (e.g. "Exponence").

### 2.1.1. Two significant concepts.

Before turning to these elements of the theory, however, I would like to single out two concepts which are particularly fundamental: The first is "Empirical Analysis."

It is important to let the data define the questions asked of it, rather than a theoretical model. It has been found that the Tagmemic model is sufficiently "alive" to the features of "real language" that it does not need to impose structure on the language being analysed; rather, the structure which surfaces as one works with language inevitably fits within the range of possibilities anticipated by the theory. The fact that the theory concerns itself with "deep" (cognitive) structure(s) as well as with surface structures, means that there is no preconceived idea of how a deep structure "notion" 'must' be encoded at the surface structure level. Yet this interest in deep structure also informs the linguist of the things which will need to be expressed, as a general rule, in any language. The wide-ranging research which has been conducted in real language, also informs the linguist about the possibilities for encoding these "notions." In the long run, language data is considered the unchangeable truth; it is what exists as language — even were it found to be an ungrammatical sample, for example, tagmemic theory enables the researcher to propose (if he so choose) explanations as

---

would do to start with Longacre's "Tagmemics," followed by his Grammar of Discourse, and Pike & Pike's Grammatical Analysis. The main differences are in Pike's use of a 'four-cell tagmeme' where Longacre employs a 'two-cell tagmeme', with the remaining material from Pike's other two cells dealt with as 'Deep-' or 'Notional Structure' (see below, this chapter).

to "why" that particular ungrammatical construction was elicited. For the most part, tagmemicists process vast amounts of data in their analyses, in order to "discover" the systems inherent in the language, and to secure their descriptions thereof. This is the only way to work with real language data, it is presumed, because an alleged pattern seen in four texts may no longer hold true after fifteen have been examined — if it doesn't, some other pattern will surface with the greater amount of data; if it does hold true, then the data substantiate the hypothesis. *The data are the only unquestionable 'fact' of the language.*

The second of these two concepts is "Language as a part of human behaviour." No one would deny that language is a feature of human behaviour; and none would deny that language is expressed within a context. Tagmemics takes these two facts strongly into consideration in its analysis. A political speech makes sense within its political and social context, for example. A series of instructions is elucidated by the details of its setting. These are for the most part self-evident. Tagmemics, however, makes more consistent reference to them as explanatory contexts than other approaches tend to do. Often, it will be setting and context which help sift out patterns in difficult data. This is not to say that every bit of data must be explained exhaustively according to its context; this would be an overstatement. Features can be examined apart from their context, of course, but a full explanation will include reference to setting, appropriate sociolinguistic usage, etc. The Gettysburg Address, for example, can be examined as a unit — to discover its internal structure, its lexical cohesion, and so on — and a great deal can be learnt of its use of language; but no one would suggest that an understanding of the context in which it was composed and first delivered brings no greater understanding to the meaning of the text. This context concerns form the center of attention in such disciplines as psycho-linguistics and socio-linguistics, yet never should they be relegated entirely to these disciplines. Just how much of this needs to enter the level of grammatical and syntactic description is a matter for debate, but the principle stands: *Language exists as a part of a wider context of human behaviour, and this context bears on the use of language features.*



### 2.1.2. "Sub-basic" concepts.

The concepts dealt with above are likewise "sub-basic" in that they are fundamental to everything in this model; those which follow are no less fundamental, but they will not require further attention once their place in the theory is seen. We cannot really "deal with them briefly, then forget them" — but, in fact, once we have examined them, they will not command our attention again except as undergirding for other features, and at these points we will mention them only obliquely.

#### 2.1.2.1. "Patterning."

The concept of "Patterning" is basic to all theories of description. That a piece of data can be compared to other pieces of data, and that knowledge can be gained from doing so, presupposes that a unifying pattern can be sought and described. Longacre writes:

Central to human behavior is PATTERNING. A noted encephalographer has written astutely about patterning. "The first significant attribute of a pattern is that you can remember it and compare it with another pattern. This is what distinguishes it from random events or chaos. For the notion of random . . . implies that disorder is beyond comparison; you cannot remember chaos or compare one chaos with another chaos; there is no plural of the word. Pattern is a quality of familiar things and familiar things are comparable. It is much nearer the truth to say that man abhors chaos than to say that nature abhors a vacuum . . . . Broadly speaking one may say that the sciences derive from pattern-seeking, the arts from pattern-making, though there is a much more intimate relation between the seeking and making of patterns than this would suggest."<sup>19</sup>

Granted the centrality of patterning in human behavior it follows that we should require that a linguistic theory give centrality to linguistic patterns. In measuring the fit of a theory with the empirical facts of individual languages we should require that a theory lead to a description in which patterns are thrown into bold relief. Or, in terms of evaluating two grammars of the same language, one important criterion of evaluation is that we recognize as superior the grammar which sets forth the patterns of a

---

19 Quoted by Longacre from W. Grey Walker, The Living Brain, p. 69 (New York, 1953).

language in the more straightforward and direct manner.<sup>20</sup>

So what we are about as text-linguistic grammarians is the clear description of the patterns that occur at the "text" level. Some language scholars may be sceptical about such a level; the next section will address some of the elements which help identify its existence.

#### 2.1.2.2. "Closure" and "Choice."

I will borrow wholesale, here, from Longacre:

Aside from this general argument in favor of linguistic patterns, we argue that *CLOSURE* and *CHOICE*, observed in people's use of language, also point to the reality of linguistic patterning. The speaker acts as if he were using units which start and stop. He backtracks and corrects himself if proper closure is not given. He hesitates at certain points as if he were confronted with a choice of item or construction. After partially or wholly articulating one item or construction he may backtrack and correct himself by choosing another item or construction. The hearer likewise demands closure of units and has opinions about choices — as is often evident by his responses. Speaker and hearer alike seem to be doing something more direct than applying a complicated series of rules to speech; rather they seem to be referring to an inventory of patterns.<sup>21</sup>

In other words, there are such things as linguistic units, which have beginnings and ends. Texts, for example, begin and end; this justifies our examining them as units. If patterns surface, their existence as functional units is confirmed.

That a speaker may backtrack to correct something, suggests that it is possible to say something in more than one way, hence the question is not only one of "grammaticality" vs. "ungrammaticality," it is also one of appropriateness.

The concept of "choice" — where the speaker, for example, searches among

---

20 Grammar Discovery Procedures, pp. 13f.; this last "criterion of evaluation" is termed "elegance" (see below).

21 Grammar Discovery Procedures, pp. 14f.; see also his "Tagmemics" (Word, 1985, pp. 137-177), esp. p. 137.

alternatives for the best way of saying something — implies that there are points where the language speaker may choose between permissible options, which in turn implies "sub-units." If one may hesitate over the choice of whether to employ a pronominal substitute, or the full noun phrase, this indicates, on the one hand, that both options are permissible (though contextual, or perhaps "stylistic," factors may exert considerable pressure on the choice to be made), and on the other hand, that the point of hesitation marks a functional point of articulation — the material preceding it does not unerringly determine what follows it. That written language is generally edited before transmission to its intended receptor in no way challenges this description of language processes; the writer, just as much as the speaker, goes through the same backtracking and choosing processes. These processes, whether written or spoken, underline the "articulated" nature of language.<sup>22</sup> We will return to this concept of "options" shortly.

---

22 "Articulated," that is, as in "lorry." It is worth noting another point here, as well: In this age of printed text, it is often overlooked that such conventions as spacing between printed words, punctuation to indicate phrase, clause, and sentence divisions, paragraph indentation, and such things as chapter headings, are artificial; yet they represent linguistic realities. These distinctions exist at the spoken level as well, yet are often rendered into spoken language by such "supra-segmental" features as intonation patterns, hesitations, and the like. No one would deny the functional reality of the "word level," but this, in some languages is not easily pinned down in definition (are the Hebrew elements *-ב*, *-ל*, and the like, to be considered words? and what about *אֵל*, which is sometimes independent, sometimes a bound form?) — in the same way, text, paragraph, and sentence units are difficult to pin down. It is my contention that the major reason these are viewed more sceptically by the traditional syntactician is that there is no inherited concept which has been handed on into the standard grammars, etc., in the same way as were the concepts of syllable, word, phrase, and clause. Yet if we were to carry out linguistic analysis of the Ionic Greek dialect before the period of word separation, would we have the same confidence in word separation as we now claim to have? Language scholars have long been guilty of a certain kind of imperialism which receives warmly that which it has been taught, but rejects as sub-standard that which others have been taught, or have discovered.

### 2.1.2.3. "Notional" or "Deep" Structure, versus "Surface" Structure.

The level of "Patterns" is found not exclusively in the outward structure of each individual language, but rather firstly in the language centre of the human brain. There are discoverable tendencies at this level, which begin the process of language structuring. This is called "Notional Structure," by Longacre, et al., and "Deep Structure" by others; my tendency is to use the two terms interchangeably, with a slight preference for the latter.<sup>23</sup> People who speak several languages sometimes find themselves unable, in trying to express a thought, to find words and structures all of which belong to the same language; they know what they want to say, but are unable to get it out.<sup>24</sup> They are sure of what they want to say (the deep structure level provides no difficulties), but the framing of their thought in real speech doesn't come together properly (the surface structure poses problems — in this case, the competing systems of different languages intermingle and become confused). Crystal gives an example which helps to clarify this concept:

This level [i.e. the 'deep structure' level] provides information which enables us to distinguish between the alternative interpretations of sentences which have the same surface form (i.e. they are ambiguous), e.g. *flying planes can be dangerous*, where *flying planes* can be related to two underlying sentences, *Planes which fly . . .* and *To fly planes . . .*. It is also a way of relating sentences which have different surface forms but the same underlying meaning, as in the relationship between active and passive structures, e.g. *The panda chased the man* as opposed to *The man was chased by the panda*.<sup>25</sup>

Longacre, in a recommendation of the strengths of tagmemic language analysis, writes:

It is precisely because tagmemics, however, much as it may be become interested in deep structure, continues to be very interested in surface structures that the previous sections of this article, although referring to

---

23 No ideological or theoretical significance need be attributed to this, other than my own preference for more self-explanatory labels.

24 This difficulty is not limited to multi-lingual people . . . .

25 Dictionary, p. 85.

studies completed some time ago, are valid today. Devices for investigating and describing surgate structures in the world's languages (as given above) rest on a considerable backlog of experience in languages around the world and apparently do not need much immediate modification. As the schools of grammar — noticeably stratificational, transformational-generative, and tagmemic — draw together in a common focus on meaning, it will still remain that, of these various schools, the school which is most interested in surface structure is the tagmemic school. Tagmemicists should continue to unapologetically be interested in the way in which a language of necessity must express itself and encode the deep structures that people use as the natural apparatus of human thought.

Tagmemics offers more than a quick-and-convenient approach to language analysis. It opens up vistas of research — some of which are still relatively unexplored — and a program for linguistic activity for many years to come.<sup>26</sup>

#### 2.1.2.4. "Particle," "Wave," and "Field."

Of these, Crystal writes:

PARTICLE . . . (2) A term used in tagmemic analysis to refer to a linguistic unit seen as a discrete entity, definable in terms of features. It is contrasted with "wave" (where the unit's contextual variability is analysed) and "field" (where its distribution is described).<sup>27</sup>

Jones describes this set of concepts in terms of "Perspective:"

Tagmemic theory formally recognizes a varying observer PERSPECTIVE. At

---

26 "Tagmemics," pp. 174f.; the directions for new "vistas of research" which are indicated by the tagmemic school of linguistics are all the more varied and the richer for hebraists — on the one hand, because of the wealth of help it offers (through its copious processing of surface structure analysis of living language data) in suggesting solutions to difficulties of Hebrew language description, and on the other hand, through its relatively practical nature (a combination of its commitment to "intuitively felt patterns" [ibid., p. 138], and its ability to communicate details of form and function without heavy reliance on jargon and idiosyncratic calculus.

27 p. 222; clearly, then, this is not the most familiar definition of the term "particle," which is defined in Crystal as "(1) A term used in grammatical description to refer to an invariable item with grammatical function, especially one which does not readily fit into a standard classification of parts of speech," in loc. cit.

least three different, but complementary, perspectives may be used to view the same items. In a STATIC view ["particle"], items as individual, discrete things are in focus. A DYNAMIC view ["wave"] focuses on the dynamics of items overlapping, blending, and merging with each other. Finally, in a RELATIONAL perspective ["field"], focus is on the relationships between units, noting networks, fields, or matrices. Any one of the three perspectives may underlie a particular linguistic description. A description from one perspective complements, and adds to, a description from one of the other perspectives, but does not replace it. Here also tagmemics leaves room for more than one correct description or grammar.<sup>28</sup>

If one analyses the clause **אני ידוע**, in terms of its components, we would describe it as a verbless clause with the structure "Pronoun as Subject, plus a Proper Noun as Predicate Noun Phrase." We have just analysed it as a "particle." If we look at it from a "wave" perspective, we would examine it in terms of all possible variants (one might decide to look at all simple S – P Verbless clauses, with no marginal phrases (temporal, attributive, appositional, etc.) added, or one might look at all Verbless clauses together<sup>29</sup>); this is an examination of *variants* of the clause-type. If we begin to examine how S – P Verbless clauses, or all Verbless clauses together, function in the language (for example, as boundary markers in Narrative History), then we begin to look at Verbless clauses from a "field" perspective. These terms will rarely recur in this volume, but the concept is basic to everything forward from this point.

### 2.1.3. "Basic" concepts.

The preceding material is vital; without it, what follows will not make sense. The terminology presented above is less important, however, for we will not belabour it in what follows. The next set of concepts, on the other hand, will be referred to by their "labels" with some regularity in the following material, therefore it is distinguished from that which

---

<sup>28</sup> "A Synopsis of Tagmemics," p. 80.

<sup>29</sup> As does Andersen, in The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch; cf. Waterhouse, The History and Development of Tagmemics, who describes the concept "wave" as the "DYNAMIC view," in which "structure is made up of waves, with nuclei and margins" (p. 6) — "nuclei" being the essential part of the unit, and "margins" being the optional extras, thus accounting for the sum total of possible permutations of the unit's structure.

we have just covered. These concepts have a more direct relevance to the analyses we will carry out below, than do those introduced above.

#### 2.1.3.1. "Language hierarchy."

In his Appendix on tagmemics, in Joseph, Longacre deals briefly with the three "crucial" concepts of tagmemics.<sup>30</sup> One of these is "hierarchical linguistic structure."<sup>31</sup> This refers to a series of levels of language: [MORPHEME/STEM –] WORD – PHRASE – CLAUSE – SENTENCE – PARAGRAPH – "DISCOURSE."<sup>32</sup> These are surface structure terms, which are roughly paralleled in deep structure.<sup>33</sup> Apart from the last one or two, these distinctions do not usually raise questions among hebraists, as we are still more accustomed to the "intuitive" approach to language description, and we tend to be aware of such things at an intuitive level. Longacre writes:

Hierarchy is the spacing of constructions on levels from morpheme (level of zero internal grammatical construction) up to discourse (level of maximal grammatical construction). With these two levels as lower and upper bounds of hierarchy the other levels take their place as intermediate levels of combination: stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence and paragraph. Stems are derivational units. Words are inflectional units. Phrases express modification or linkage. Clauses express predications. Sentences are propositions which may concatenate, oppose, balance, or report predications. Paragraphs are units developing a discourse. The levels are partly defined by such internal characteristics as these, partly by their hierarchical placement on the scale from morpheme to discourse.<sup>34</sup>

#### 2.1.3.2. "Slot/Class" and "Filler/Set".

These are more often referred to in the literature as "slot" and "filler" than as "class"

---

30 pp. 311ff.

31 p. 311.

32 His "discourse" equals my "text."

33 For a complete treatment of these two layers, I must direct the reader to Longacre's Grammar of Discourse, particularly pp. 322-27, and pp. 273f.

34 "Tagmemics," p. 143; those who are looking for a fuller, more scientific, definition of these levels would do well to consult Longacre's linguistic books (e.g. *Philippine Languages*, pp. vi-xxvii, 1-3, 53, et passim; *Grammar of Discourse*, pp. 77-80, 269-336).



and "set [or filler set]"; this is my convention as well. This concept is one of the most characteristic of the Tagmemic School of linguistics, and plays a central role in the shaping of other characteristics of the theory.

A man gets dressed to go to work in a bank in Edinburgh, Scotland. There are certain things he must wear, of course: shoes, socks, trousers, shirt, tie, and jacket, being the basics. Now, he has a choice of which shirt to wear (it must be white, however — this is Edinburgh), and he can choose from among several dark suits, or combinations of trousers and jackets; he has a fairly wide variety of socks, and more than a few ties. He has a choice between three different pairs of black shoes. Yet the ensemble is more or less dictated by custom.

There is a typical "slot – filler" relationship involved here. In each case, a required piece of clothing is supplied from a collection of suitable options: the man undoubtedly has several good shirts which are not white, yet these are not appropriate under the circumstances; he has many pairs of socks (some of which will go very well with the suit and shoes he has chosen), but it would be socially unacceptable for him to wear one of these in place of the required neck-tie. In the same way, grammatical (and other) relations can be described as a "slot" into which an item is fitted; the item is chosen from among a set of acceptable "fillers."

The following clauses appear very similar, yet they reflect different patterns:

She is my aunt.	Subj. + Cop.Vb.(V1) + Pred.Complement <sup>35</sup>
She is fun.	Subj. + Cop.Vb.(V1) + Pred.Complement
She is driving.	Subj. + Pred.(V2)

The first clause is a "stative identificational" clause; the second, a "stative descriptive" clause; the third, an intransitive clause. Although the word 'is' occurs in all three samples, the conjugated verb is not interchangeable. This can be expressed by defining two

---

35 The ' + ' sign is used to indicate that a certain element is required rather than optional (in which case it would be marked with  $\pm$  ).

different sets of verbs which provide the acceptable options for these two different slots — e.g. 'V1' could be defined as any finite form of the verbs 'to be' and 'to become',<sup>36</sup> (this permits the construction of a clause like "she had become my aunt"<sup>37</sup> — while 'V2' might be defined as any finite form of any intransitive verb,<sup>38</sup> granting the possibility of clauses like "she sighed," and "she will elope," or even "she exists." The slot is called Verb in both cases, but in a tagmemic approach they would be given labels which distinguish them one from another. The "filler" set would be likewise labelled so that it matched up accurately with its corresponding "slot."

#### 2.1.3.3. "Constituent Structure" analysis.

The sort of description of clauses which we undertook superficially in the above section is often called constituent structure: when one looks at the way a unit is composed, taking it apart to identify its bits and pieces, one is engaging in constituent structure analysis. Such an approach allows us to detail the patterns which surface as we compare like with like, and divide the unit into the bits which make it up.

#### 2.1.3.4. "Tagmeme" and "Syntagmeme."

All tagmemic textbooks I have come across tend to deal with this concept (the identifying feature of "Tagmemic" theory) in a perfunctory way, assuming that it is a concept easily grasped. And, when one has seen countless tagmemic grammars, phonologies, scientific papers, and so on, the existence of these two categories as language realities is clear beyond question — it does indeed become a concept easy to grasp.<sup>39</sup> Yet, the first time around is not so simple.

---

36 The acceptable way of conjugating these verbs would be dealt with elsewhere in the grammar.

37 an odd example perhaps, but grammatically correct.

38 These "rules" make no effort to be grammatically complete.

39 Compare the ease with which one recognises the colour "yellow," or the sound of a violin — and the difficulties one has in trying to describe these.

In short, a SYNTAGMEME is a formula, representing a language unit; this formula is made up of sub-units, which are called TAGMEMES. Each tagmeme refers to that set of options which can function in the slot represented by the tagmeme; and each option will be described by a syntagmeme (a Clause syntagmeme will be composed of tagmemes, some of which might represent Phrases, and a Phrase syntagmeme will be composed of Word-level tagmemes — and so the arrangement progresses through the grammatical hierarchy.

Waterhouse describes these categories as follows:

[The tagmeme can be defined as] a functional slot in a grammatical construction correlated with the lexical item or class of items which could be said to fulfil that function. . . . A TAGMEME, then is the correlation of a functional slot on a specific level within a hierarchy with the class of items that fill the slot. Thus a class is said to fill a slot. A class may also be said to manifest a tagmeme, of a specific member of a class may be said to manifest the tagmeme. The slot is not viewed as a location in a linear sequence — although it may be that — but rather as a function in a construction type. Neither the slot nor the class that fills it is considered to be the tagmeme by itself. For this reason, the basic tagmemic notation is dual, with labels for both slot and class, and a colon inserted between them, without intervening space. The colon is to be read 'filled by'.

Tagmemes may be obligatory, marked +. Optional tagmemes are marked ±. The occurrence of an optional tagmeme does not thereby constitute it obligatory; hence it is still marked ±. The marking as either obligatory or optional is part of the notation for the tagmemic unit itself; thus there is no intervening space between it and the slot label.

A typical notation for a tagmeme would be +S:n (= 'obligatory subject slot filled by noun'), or ±L:loc (= 'optional location slot filled by location word').<sup>40</sup>

and,

A SYNTAGMEME is a construction on a given hierarchical level whose constituent parts are tagmemes.<sup>41</sup>

Thus, we could say that **אני יהודה** is a simple realisation of the Hebrew

"Naming"-type Stative Identificational Clause syntagmeme:

---

<sup>40</sup> *History and Development of Tagmemics*, pp. 10f.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

where the subject "slot" of the clause can be filled with a selection from the "filler" set 'Personal Pronoun (PPron),' which will be defined elsewhere; the predicate "slot" can be filled by any member of the "filler" set 'Personal Name (PNm),' which likewise is identified elsewhere — although it is clear that this must be an "open" set, allowing for an unlimited number of possibilities, unlike 'PPron', which will be a "closed" filler set.

Our Edinburgh banker can be used to illustrate these concepts further: The "syntagmeme" '[Male] Banker's Uniform' might be written as follows:

B's Uniform : { + Suit(S1) + Shirt(Sr1) + Tie(T1) + Socks(So1) + Shoes(Sh1) }

where "S1," "Sr1," "T1," "So1," and "Sh1" are tagmemes of the [Male] Banker's Uniform syntagmeme. "Suit(S1)" can likewise be analysed as a syntagmeme:

Suit(S1) : { + Dark Jacket + Dark Trousers }

"Suit(S1)" is a tagmeme when analysed as part of the Banker's Uniform; it is a syntagmeme when analysed in terms of what elements make it up.

This brief discussion has presented what is known as "two-cell tagmemics," which

---

42 Items within brackets — { } — purport to be tagmemes. It must be said, however, that these analyses make no attempt at grammatical completeness. Waterhouse points out that Longacre's notation "has used the slot label alone; this does not however, mean that the filler class is overlooked. Rather, the simpler notation is merely a convention for ease of transcription" [in loc. cit. — I tend to use this simplification as well]; Elson and Pickett likewise simplify the calculus for representing language features [An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax, q.v.]. It is helpful to remember that it is the commonality of *theoretical* starting points which unifies the tagmemic school of language analysis and description, rather than a specific set of notational conventions.

records the "slot" (e.g. Subject) and the "filler" (e.g. Personal Pronoun); other versions of tagmemics exist, and are superior to this simplified model for shorthand description of language rules.

The standard approach adopted by a large percentage of Summer Institute of Linguistics / Wycliffe Bible Translators personnel is that of four-cell tagmemics, where the two cells in addition to those representing "slot" and "filler" describe the "role" (e.g. Subject as Agent) and the "cohesion" (this can be explained best by avoiding the calculus and jargon of the system; it refers to such things as "agreement in gender, number, and case," etc., and thus defines the kind of relations which exist between the different tagmemes of the syntagmeme).<sup>43</sup> The reader may be permitted a sigh of relief that precise understanding of all this is not needed in order to be able to follow the remaining material; he should be even more grateful that he was not required to digest the "nine-cell" tagmeme, which was the literal 'grand-daddy' of them all.<sup>44</sup>

The interaction between "tagmeme," "syntagmeme," and "structural hierarchy" is what interests us in particular at this point. These three elements Longacre set out as the crucial features of tagmemics for following such a work as Joseph; they are the core of what I am presenting as well.<sup>45</sup>

In our Intransitive clause sample, above ("she is driving"), the "tagmeme" which fills the Predicate slot in the Intransitive Cl. "syntagmeme" is an Intransitive Verb Phrase. The Subject slot is filled by a Noun Phrase or equivalent (in this case, a Personal Pronoun). The

---

43 The definitive work for learning the mysteries of four-cell tagmemics is Pike and Pike, Grammatical Analysis; a briefer, and much more accessible explanation of this apparatus is offered in Jones, "Synopsis," section 1.3 'Terms and Relations', pp. 80ff. — this also contains a very lucid summary of the basic concepts of syntagmeme and tagmeme.

44 Even the greatest of the creative masterminds behind this theory found that one unwieldy. The desire to describe as many features of a unit as possible was the motivation for these creations, but as they also must be usable and at least somewhat self-explanatory, this one "went the way of all flesh." The tagmemic model is constantly evolving under pressures from new language data, and from field linguists who require manageable tools. This is one of its greatest strengths.

45 p. 311.

Intransitive Clause syntagmeme could be set out as below:

Intransitive Cl. = { + Subject + Predicate }

where

Subject    =    {Noun Phrase},  
                              {Pronoun},  
                              {Proper Name},  
                              (etc.)  
Predicate    =    {Intransitive Verb Phrase}

'Noun Phrase' and 'Intransitive Verb Phrase' are themselves units which can be described as syntagmemes with "slots" into which other "syntagmemes" fit as "tagmemes" within the phrase ("fillers"). Each of these tagmemes — {Noun Phrase}, {Intransitive Verb Phrase}, etc.) may perform widely differing functions in different contexts; these functions are defined by the syntagmeme for each of those contexts. So, we can say that the syntagmeme defines the function of certain tagmemes in certain specified contexts, and the tagmeme describes the constituent structure of the syntagmeme.

This is a radically simplified demonstration of how the "syntagmemes" of one level of the hierarchy tend to look for fillers from a lower level of the hierarchy. *"Syntagmeme" can be roughly defined as a linguistic unit, while "tagmeme" can be roughly defined as a sub-unit within a unit.*

#### 2.1.3.5. "Exponence."

We can now begin to reconstitute<sup>46</sup> Longacre's incredibly dense summary of this material:

Tagmeme and syntagmeme are correlative concepts in that (1) the functions of the various tagmemes are expounded by sets of syntagmemes (including those of zero internal structure), and (2) a syntagmeme is composed of tagmemes. I call the first relation *exponence* and the second *composition*.

---

<sup>46</sup> As one would do to "reconstitute," say, instant coffee.

Thus, not only can syntagmemes of zero internal grammatical structure, such as *John* and *Bill*, occur as subject and object in a transitive clause, but compound words such as (the) *redcoat*, (the) *gentleman*, or (the) *oarsman* may occur there as well; phrases such as *the oldest man in the group*, *an imprudent young officer* or *a crippled sailor* can occur; and even a few clauses such as *That he came early (impressed Bill)*.<sup>47</sup>

If "syntagmeme" is roughly equivalent to "unit," and "tagmeme" is roughly equivalent to "sub-unit within a unit," we must also say that when we begin to look at a sub-unit on its own (as opposed to within its unit/syntagmeme), then we are looking at it as a syntagmeme in its own right. We view it now as something with its own structure, rather than viewing as something which has horizontal relations with other tagmemes, inside another unit. In most cases this means moving down one level in the linguistic hierarchy.<sup>48</sup>

Longacre has written that "the functions of the various tagmemes are expounded by sets of syntagmemes (including those of zero internal structure)";<sup>49</sup> in our earlier example of the Intransitive Clause syntagmeme, the "functions" are 'Subject' and 'Predicate'; these are tagmemes, and are "slots" into which certain appropriate "fillers" can be inserted. The fillers themselves, however, are also syntagmemes (e.g. 'Noun Phrase,' or 'Personal Pronoun') — they are only considered "tagmemes" when examined in terms of their function within the Intransitive Clause syntagmeme — and, as syntagmemes, can be looked at in terms of their own tagmemes. And so a syntagmeme of the Noun Phrase might look like this:<sup>50</sup>

---

47 Joseph, p.312.; his explanation in "Tagmemics" is fuller, and more readable, but relies heavily on Turkish and Trique language data which he presents in the text, in graphic representations which are not reproducible here, in addition to the fact that any meaningful quotation on this subject from that source would extend to several pages of our text — nevertheless, these pages are the most helpful summary I have yet seen of the twin concepts of "tagmeme" and "syntagmeme" (pp. 138-143).

48 A point to which we will return shortly.

49 Ibid.

50 Again, I must stress that these "syntagmemes" are not intended to be fully accurate; their purpose is to demonstrate features of this model — were they grammatically complete descriptions of the real-language clause-type, their complexity might muddy rather than clarify the points under consideration.



Noun Phrase = {  $\pm$  Det.  $\pm$  Modifier (1) + Substantive  $\pm$  Modifier (2) }

where

Determiner = {Cardinal Number}  
 {"the"}  
 {"a"}  
 (etc.)  
 Modifier (1) = {Adjective Phrase}  
 {Ordinal Number}  
 (etc.)  
 Substantive = {Noun}  
 {Present Participle}  
 (etc.)  
 Modifier (2) = "of" + {Noun Phrase}  
 {Verb Clause}  
 (etc.)

With this array of syntagmemes, the following are accounted for as possible Noun Phrases:

"six yellow dogs"  
 "the first five hundred winners"  
 "a growing distrust of their frequent prevaricating"  
 "the last time I was there"

and so on (and all this is in order to explain the term "exponence").<sup>51</sup> The section above dealing with Modifier (1)'s "filler" options, for example, could be articulated in normal English as "Modifier (1) may be expounded by an Adjective Phrase, and Ordinal Number, . . . ." "Exponence" deals with the function of a set of syntagmemes, that function being a tagmeme in another syntagmeme. But these exponential relations can be broken down and qualified further.

#### 2.1.3.5.1. "Primary" Exponence.

We have said above that a slot tends to be filled by a syntagmeme from the next

---

51 I am presuming that the concept of "composition" as introduced above is more or less self-explanatory.

lower level of the linguistic hierarchy; Longacre terms this "primary" exponence.<sup>52</sup> A hypothetical sentence<sup>53</sup> tends to be composed of a pair of clauses; the clauses will likely be composed of phrases, the phrases, of words. This sort of exponence is the most easily comprehensible at a logical level.

#### 2.1.3.5.2. "Recursive" Exponence.

Longacre writes:

Recursive exponents of tagmemes are from the same level as the tagmemes themselves. Thus, stem can occur within stem as in *ungentlemanliness* which is a noun stem<sup>54</sup> the exponent of whose theme tagmeme is an adjective stem<sup>55</sup> *ungentlemanly*. In turn the exponent of the theme tagmeme of the latter is another adjective stem *gentlemanly*. The exponent of the theme tagmeme of the latter is a noun stem *gentleman* which has two theme tagmemes whose exponents are morphemes *gentle* and *man*. Three derivative morphemes *-ness*, *-un*,<sup>56</sup> and *-ly* manifest the tagmemes nominalizer, privative, and adjectivizer.<sup>57</sup>

"Recursive" exponence occurs when a unit fills a slot in a syntagmeme of that same level, e.g. "a growing distrust of their frequent prevaricating," where the modifier "of their frequent prevaricating" — itself defined by the Noun Phrase syntagmeme — occurs as a tagmeme within a Noun Phrase: a Phrase within a Phrase.

About the above two kinds of exponence, Longacre makes these comments:

Secondary exponence (recursion) does not vitiate the witness of primary exponence to hierarchical structure in language. Recursion is identifiable as something apart from primary exponence. Thus, derivative affixes in English are a recognizable category of affixes. When we find several of these affixes occurring together in the same form,<sup>58</sup> then we know that we have an

---

52 p. 312.

53 E.g. "If he wanted to come, he should have said so."

54 "Stem" being the hierarchical level of the tagmeme in question.

55 I.e. the same hierarchical level; "theme tagmeme" is the nuclear element of a stem, and, in primary exponence, contains a morpheme.

56 This should read "*un-*".

57 "Tagmemics," p. 145.

58 That is, in the same linguistic unit.

instance of recursive exponence on the stem level. On the phrase-level recursion is identifiable by the occurrence of prepositions or noun-phrase initial items (*of, the, that*) in what is apparently phrase-medial; these relators or initial items signal onset of a phrase acting as recursive exponent of a tagmeme within another phrase. On the sentence level tell-tale distribution of such conjunctions as *and, but, or, if* and *unless* mark recursion.

While primary exponence gives strings in n-ary relations, recursive exponence creates nests of constructions which can never be successfully analyzed as simple linear strings and often are binary. Thus the English sentence quoted above [*Had they taken a sword and threatened to run him through or held a club ready to dash out his brains, he would have died saying, "No. Never."*] is not a simple chain of clauses: (1) *Had they taken a sword*, and (2) *had they threatened to run him through*, or (3) *had they held a club ready to dash out his brains*, (4) *he would have died saying, "No. Never."* A nest is a structure amenable only to some sort of

immediate-constituent analysis. To analyze it as a linear string with order classes is to understructure it. The lowest layer in a nest is composed, however, of descending exponents. Ultimately, then, a nest of phrases is composed of words and a nest of sentences is composed of clauses.<sup>59</sup>

Recursion is more frequent on the stem, phrase, sentence paragraph and discourse levels, and less frequent on the word and clause levels, which tend to be linear strings. Recursive or non-recursive propensities of a given level constitute a further characteristic of that level. We have already illustrated recursion for stems, phrases, and sentences. In regard to discourse it is necessary to note only that *scarcely any discourse of much length and complexity is a simple sequence of paragraphs*.<sup>60</sup> Rather such a discourse contains subdiscourses, subplots, and subnarratives. In brief, it has discourse level tagmemes (e.g., episodes) whose exponents are themselves discourses. Paragraphs can likewise contain subparagraphs.<sup>61</sup>

---

59 His own note on this section reads, "Some languages contain certain syntagmemes (e.g. numeral or adjective phrases) that occur only as secondary exponents. Thus if a numeral phrase occurs only as a modifier of a noun then it is always a phrase-level recursive exponent, that is, while itself a phrase it occurs only as an exponent of a phrase-level tagmeme [n. 3, p.175].

60 Italics my own; this is the principal reason for the complexity of Longacre's graphic presentation of the text of the Joseph story (*Joseph*, Part Four), and one of the principal reasons for my presenting so much tagmemic theory at this stage — our investigations below will reveal patterns which are recognizable when these tendencies of language structuring have been explained to some degree. Tagmemics is not the only school of linguistics which is capable of describing these patterns, but it is one of the best, not least because, once the principles have been understood, jargon can be left behind, and explanations be given in laymen's terms.

61 "Tagmemics," pp. 146f.

#### 2.1.3.5.3. "Back-Looping" Exponence.

This is where "a higher-level unit fills a slot in a lower level."<sup>62</sup> We have had an example of that in "the last time I was there"; "I was there" is a Stative Descriptive Clause, which occurs as a "Modifier" tagmeme in a Noun Phrase: a Clause within a Phrase.

Likewise a sentence can occur within a Phrase: "his 'if-we'd-done-it-my-way,-it-would-have-worked' comments" — a Sentence within a Phrase.

#### 2.1.3.5.4. "Level-skipping" Exponence.

This is slightly more difficult to illustrate than the others, as it functions more at the higher levels — which we have yet to describe adequately enough to use them as examples — than the lower ones. The principle is this: In primary exponence, a slot is normally filled by a unit from the next lower level; if this level is skipped, and the unit which fills the slot comes from an even lower level than normal, then we have "level-skipping" exponence, e.g. "If you can join me, we'll go together. Otherwise, I'll look for someone else." In this case, we have two hypothetical sentences; in the first one, both the protasis and the conclusion are expounded by clauses; in the second, however, only the conclusion is expounded by a clause — the protasis ("otherwise") is expounded by a word (skipping both the clause- and the phrase-levels). Elliptical units fall under this category, and I will occasionally refer to them by that term; at this stage, however, it is to our advantage to underline that the same mechanism (that is, "exponence") is taking place, regardless of the unit which fills the slot — whether large or small.

#### 2.1.3.6. "Embedding."

A short-hand term for both "recursive" exponence and "back-looping" exponence is "embedding." One could say that "a growing distrust of their frequent prevaricating" is a Noun Phrase in which the Modifier of the Noun Phrase "a growing distrust" is expounded

---

62 Joseph, p. 312.

recursively by another Noun Phrase — "of their frequent prevaricating." This specifies the exact relationship of the second unit (the filler) to the first (the slot). In this volume, as is done in many others, we will sacrifice some of this precision, and will bypass explicit statement of the nature of this exponence (except where an explicit statement is necessary); the result is that we will describe the above phrase as "a Noun Phrase which contains an embedded Noun Phrase." In this enquiry we will refer to "a Narrative text embedded in an Expository text," "a Predictive paragraph embedded in a Narrative History speech formula," and so on. *The concept of embedding is the most important to our later work of those which we have so far described*; the material preceding this has served primarily as background so that this feature may be the more readily understood.

By way of further clarification of this concept, we can draw connections between it and other concepts we have looked at. The most cogent of these is the twinned concepts of "Slot" and "Filler." The mechanism of exponence (and, therefore, of embedding) is the direct connection between the slot and the filler.<sup>63</sup> By referring to the relationship between two units, of "embedding", we are highlighting the fact that "paragraph X" is functionally related to "clause Y" (e.g. where a paragraph of Reported Speech fills the Direct Object slot in a Transitive Clause). The same is true of this concept's connection to the "Tagmeme/Syntagmeme" pair of concepts — "paragraph X" is a manifestation of the "tagmeme P," in and of itself, yet it functions with other tagmemes to create a permissible manifestation of the "syntagmeme Q," which results in "clause Y [the Reported Speech paragraph embedded in the Transitive Speech Formula Clause]."

This concept of "embedding" is a considerable help in elucidating the grammatical role of Reported Speech in, say, Narrative History, as it highlights the interconnectedness between Reported Speech, and the framework which supports it. This is essential for the

---

63 Although the terms "embedding" and "embedded" could be used to described "level-skipping exponence" (see immediately above), it serves primarily to indicate the insertion of a larger unit into a slot normally filled by a smaller one. Both situations are manifestations of the "Slot/Filler" interrelationship.

integrity of the framework, and also permits us to examine Reported Speech as individual, fully self-contained, units, which also happen to function as part of something else. The benefit of this is that we are able to ask questions of individual Reported Speech texts, and to compare them selectively (for example, to other units of the same text-type), so as to gain a greater understanding of the features of distinctive text-types. Likewise, we can gain insights into the nature of Reported Speech as a grammatical/syntactic mechanism by approaching it in this way. We will, as we have intimated above, return to this in fuller detail in Chapter Five.

## 2.2. Specific Features of the "Text" Level.

We will now look at the highest level of the linguistic hierarchy — 'Text' — from a variety of vantage points. That such a level exists is indicated both by behavioural evidence (i.e., people usually know when an oral report, or a conversation, or a joke, is finished), and by linguistic evidence (languages tend to demonstrate linguistic patterning at the text-level, e.g., that languages tend to mark the "peak" event of a story<sup>64</sup>).

### 2.2.1. The identity of the text.

Our first approach to the text will be to examine the varieties of texts, or "text-types." We will look first at several binary parameters which will be used to build a matrix for the identification of text-types.

#### 2.2.1.1. The first parameter: "Agent Orientation."<sup>65</sup>

"Agent Orientation"<sup>66</sup> is a feature of texts which highlight the participants. For

---

<sup>64</sup> See below.

<sup>65</sup> This material is derived from Longacre's Grammar of Discourse, pp. 3-6; the vast majority of the terminology is his own — only where I quote directly from him will I reference him; I am too greatly in his debt for this material to reference every allusion to his own publications. Having said that, I must add that his own explanations of these concepts, except when in the classroom, achieve minimalist standards.

<sup>66</sup> I will tend to refer to this as "AO."

example, a story generally highlights the activities (or lack thereof) of a participant, or several participants; a theoretical paper about, say, a matrix for distinguishing text-types, does not focus on participants — if any are mentioned (for example, the reader, or the author) it will only be obliquely, and their activities as related in the text will have little to do with the flow of the text.

Another example may be given: If a carpenter is explaining the day's schedule to his helpers, he will include reference to who is to do what; a manual on how to rewire a house will prioritise the activities rather than the people doing them (it makes no difference who does them, as long as they are done in the manner required by safety, by the housing code, etc.).

#### 2.2.1.2. The second parameter: "Contingent Temporal Succession."

Of the three parameters which will define our matrix, this will be the most difficult to grasp. "Contingent Temporal Succession"<sup>67</sup> refers to whether or not events or doings in a text are related to (or "contingent upon") prior events or doings.

Events in a story, or instructions on how to assemble a model airplane, exhibit a certain temporal development: each activity develops in some way out of previous activity. This is not true of a lecture on the nature of metamorphic rock in southern Scotland, or an ideological pamphlet about how life would be better if man truly put Marxist Socialism into action.

A good example of this contrast can be seen in the first chapter of the Gospel of John. In the first five verses (in particular, but this is also true of verses 6–18), the text describes the nature of "the Word"; there is only minimal reference to sequences of events — most of the clauses are stative. In verse 19, however, the treatment of events changes, and one event leads to another, and the emphasis is on sequence rather than state.

---

67 I will frequently abbreviate this to "CTS."



Longacre points out<sup>68</sup> that "Narrative and procedural discourse have chronological linkage, while expository and hortatory discourse have logical linkage," which may be a useful confirmatory technique in text-type identification.

2.2.1.3. The matrix with two parameters.

When we put these two parameters together, their intersection defines four broad categories — NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL, BEHAVIOURAL, and EXPOSITORY.

	+ Agent Orientation	- Agent Orientation
+ CTS	<u>NARRATIVE</u>	<u>PROCEDURAL</u>
- CTS	<u>BEHAVIOURAL</u>	<u>EXPOSITORY</u>

We will come back to this matrix shortly, to add another parameter, and will interact with its categories more fully at that time; until then, Longacre's brief summary of these classifications will suffice:

Narrative discourse (broadly conceived) is plus in respect to both parameters. Procedural discourse (how to do it, how it was done, how it takes place) is plus in respect to contingent succession (the steps of a procedure are ordered) but minus in respect to the agent orientation (attention is on what is done or made, not on who does it). Behavioral discourse (a broad category including

68 "Discourse," pp. 19f.

exhortation, eulogy and political speeches of candidates) is minus in regard to contingent succession but plus in regard to agent orientation (it deals with how people did or should behave). Expository discourse is minus in respect to both parameters.

A certain care has been taken in positing these initial parameters, for if they are defined too broadly we get into difficulty in classifying some discourses. Thus, Hebrews chapter 11 is really an expository discourse on faith. On first inspection, however, there are difficulties in classifying this discourse. If, for example, we were to define the first parameter simply as chronological succession (as in Longacre 1976<sup>69</sup>), then Hebrews 11 would be plus in respect to this parameter since it orders its examples of believing men and women according to the chronological framework of the Old Testament. It is plain, however, that the chapter does not present the actions of any person of faith as dependent on those of a person previously mentioned. There is chronological succession, but not contingent succession. The writer is exemplifying faith and simply mentions his various examples in the order in which they are mentioned in the Old Testament. Likewise, while there is a great deal of action and many agents mentioned in the chapter, the chapter is oriented towards those agents who act as examples of faith. Furthermore, there is disparity instead of identity of reference. Actually, then if we define our two parameters carefully enough, Hebrews 11 — unlike true narratives — is minus with respect to both parameters.<sup>70</sup>

I am not content to leave this section without clarifying one thing further.

Longacre's discussion above of Hebrews 11 with reference to Agent Orientation is unclear. He writes that, "the chapter is oriented towards those agents who act as examples of faith"; this, I believe is slightly misleading, as he is trying to explain why the text is to be considered "- Agent Orientation." One might more clearly say, "the chapter is oriented towards *the faith itself*, and because faith is a human response to circumstances, this requires the text to deal with agents and events. Thus, though there is to some degree a highlighting of agents and actions, this is only to achieve the goal of speaking about faith."

---

69 His exact reference here is opaque; he lists three works in his bibliography which appeared in 1976 — it is likely, however, that they shared the same perspective on the definition of these categories.

70 *Grammar of Discourse*, pp. 3f.; although his contribution to Brend and Pike, *Tagmemics*, ("Discourse," pp. 1-44) is concerned largely with the developmental history of this area of analysis, he provides here as well a good summary of these parameters and their resultant text-types (pp. 18ff.)

2.2.1.5. The matrix with three parameters.

The addition of Projection to the matrix divides it into eight sections, and gives us a means of defining eight notional text-types:

	+ Agent Orientation	- Agent Orientation	
+ CTS	<u>NARRATIVE</u>	<u>PROCEDURAL</u>	
	Prophecy	How-to-do-it	+ Proj.
	_____	_____	
	Story	How-it-was-done	- Proj.
- CTS	<u>BEHAVIOURAL</u>	<u>EXPOSITIVE</u>	
	Exhortation Promisory	Budget Proposal Futuristic Essay	+ Proj.
	_____	_____	
	Eulogy	Scientific Paper	- Proj.

These categories are commonly seen in the surface structures of languages, as well, and therefore they give us labels, and rationale, for handling them independently of one another. This is the greatest value of such a matrix: it enhances our perception of distinctions which are marked (perhaps subtly) in real language data.

#### 2.2.1.4. The third parameter: "Projection."

Waterhouse writes, concerning the above-described four "types of discourse:"

At workshops of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Philippines in 1967–68, Longacre began work on a broad front in a variety of languages. This resulted in a three-volume work (Longacre 1968–96): *Discourse, paragraph, and sentence structure in selected Philippine languages*. He found four major types of discourse: narrative, procedural, expository, and hortatory. These occurred in most languages investigated. Narrative discourse was that which told some type of story. Procedural discourse told how something was done or made. Hortatory discourse attempted to influence or change conduct or outlook. Each type of discourse was described in terms of its chronological and person orientation; its initiating, closing and nuclear tagmemes; and the types of linkage of units within it.<sup>71</sup>

Leaving the matrix with only two binary oppositions does not allow us to differentiate texts which are clearly different in make-up. For example, one Procedural text may record how something was made or done, but another Procedural text may instruct the reader for the making or the doing. "Narrative discourse" includes prophetic, as well as historical, narratives. To represent these in the matrix we require another parameter: Projection.

This parameter is, I think, the easiest to grasp. If a text is "plus projection," it looks toward the future in some way; if it is "minus projection,"<sup>72</sup> it does not. For example, a set of instructions about how to turn lead into gold, will be "plus projection"; a lab report about how lead was turned into gold, will be "minus projection."<sup>73</sup> A prophecy about the fall of an empire, and the historical report of its fall, differ in terms of "Projection."

---

71 Waterhouse, pp. 48f.

72 I will henceforth abbreviate this to "Proj."

73 And fictional, of course. These parameters do not control such things as truth content, injection of humour, and other such features.

These eight categories<sup>74</sup> are distinctive, and, in those which are distinctive for a given language, they are marked by the surface structure of that language.<sup>75</sup> It would be beneficial, perhaps, to illustrate these notional categories, giving an example from each, on the same topic. For the sake of simplicity we will take "tying one's shoes" as the subject:

In the Narrative category ( + AO, + CTS), we could have a prophecy about a child tying its shoes — "at the age of four, he will tie his shoes without help; he will reach down, take a lace in each hand, and cross them; he will then . . . ," and so on — ( + Proj.); likewise, the same thing could be looked on in the past, as history — "and at the age of four, he suddenly knew how to tie his shoes: he just reached down, took a lace in each hand . . . ," and so forth ( - Proj.).

If the topic of tying shoes is found in the Procedural category ( - AO, + CTS), the agent will be mentioned only because the activity requires one; so, a set of clinical instructions will write: "when the laces have been crossed, one lace is tucked under the crossing, and the two are pulled reasonably tight; a bow is formed next, by . . . " ( + Proj.); this can be contrasted with a lab report on how this action is accomplished: "the wearer crossed the laces, and tucked one under the other; the laces were then drawn tight enough for comfort, and a bow was then formed. This was done by folding one of the laces . . . " ( - Proj.).

In the Behavioural category ( + AO, - CTS), an exhortation by a judgemental peer might run like this: "If you want your laces to stay tied, you've got to tie them tighter. Pull

---

74 My "technical labels" for these categories (i.e., by which I will refer to them in the analyses which follow) are slightly different than those given above, which are intended to help the reader identify the text-types being referred to. My own labels are: Narrative Prediction, Narrative History; Procedural/Instructional, and Procedural/Lab Report; Hortatory (which is the only type of Behavioural text we encounter in the texts examined in this study); and Expository (when a strict distinction between " + / - Projection" texts is required, I refer to the former as Expository/"What-it-will-be," and the latter as Expository/"What-it-was"). I will always capitalise these terms when they refer to text-types.

75 Not all of these categories are distinguished in the surface structure of each language, and in some languages the "encoding" of one notional structure may be very similar to, or partially overlap, the "encoding" of another.

the laces harder . . . when you're doing the bow, hold onto it longer . . . and make sure before you start that your laces are even . . . don't cross the laces the wrong way either, when you're making the first knot . . .," and on and on ( + Proj.); a " - Proj." example of this might imagined as a reflection by a widow on the precision with which her husband used to tie his shoes: "he always made sure his bows were the same length, and he would make sure he had pulled the laces securely tight before he began the process. He didn't mind if he had to do it twice, but it had to be right. He had a habit of patting each side of the shoe when he had finished, and he usually brushed them off with his hand just before starting to tie them . . . ."

In the Expository category ( - AO, - CTS), we are dealing with primarily descriptive material. A " + Proj." Expository text might read, "When a shoe is properly tied, the bow will be neat and secure, the laces even. The foot will be comfortable in the shoe, and the laces will not be too tight"; if such a text is " - Proj.," the time reference will not be future — it may be present or past (though the addition of further parameters could differentiate past from present): "The shoe was beautifully tied; the laces were not too tight, and the bows were even and . . . ."

This rather exhaustive set of permutations on "shoe-tying" texts should aid the reader to relate these categories to real language data.

#### 2.2.1.6. The question of other parameters.

This matrix could be complicated by the addition of other parameters; Longacre suggests the addition of "Tension." This is a category which permits distinction between, say, an account of history, such as the book of Judges, where similarity of events, and repetition, feature more highly than building of tension through a series of scenes, until a climax of tension is achieved, and released, such as is seen in the individual histories in Judges, or in the Gospel of John. This same parameter is decisive in the distinction between a theological essay which is merely "exploratory," as opposed to one with a polemic thrust (e.g., one of Martin Luther's treatises against the theology of the Roman Catholic Church).

In addition, we have alluded to other factors which could be included. However, for each step toward greater specificity we sacrifice simplicity and clarity. For the present work, we will limit our differentiation to the three parameters given in the matrix above.

Sociolinguistic factors enter the picture as well, and complicate it to a certain degree, especially with regard to Hortatory texts.<sup>76</sup>

### 2.2.2. The internal structure of texts.

At this juncture, we shift our attention to the internal structure of these units we have just described. This structure is marked by features which can be collected into two loose groups: the first includes those features which tend to extend throughout the length of the text — they are roughly similar to the "warp" in woven cloth; the second includes those features which tend to break up those in the first category — they are comparable to the "weft" in woven. As with woven cloth, it is the working together of these features which results in a completed product.

#### 2.2.2.1. "Longitudinal" features of texts.

These are those features which extend throughout the text; they include two pairs of categories which are in opposition to one another, as well as several other features which tend to be examined in terms of the way they thread their way through the text.

##### 2.2.2.1.1. "Main-line" versus "Off-line."

Many have remarked on the predominance of the *wc* + Prefix conjugation in storytelling/historical sections of the Hebrew Bible; it has been dubbed "the narrative form." It forms the backbone of the story, but is occasionally interrupted with clauses of different types. It is comparable to the English "simple past," the French "passé simple," the German "Imperfekt." All these forms characterise Narrative History in the same way that command

---

76 As we have already noted with regard to Longacre's treatment of these texts in *Joseph*.



forms characterise Hortatory texts. These are the forms that are responsible for moving the "story"/"exhortation" forward towards its end. Longacre terms these "on-the-line" or "mainline."<sup>77</sup> It has been found that every distinctive text-type in a language has a clause-type that it prefers; we have already mentioned command forms for Hortatory — we might also point to the tendency for English Procedural texts to employ the passive forms (particularly Procedural/Lab Report texts, using the passive forms of past tenses).

In addition, there occur other clause-types, which do not have the job of moving the text inexorably forward; these usually contain material which sets the scene, or in some other way departs from the standard task assigned to a clause in their particular text-type. In Narrative History, a Verbless clause is an anomaly — it adds detail to the context, but does not advance the story; conversely such a clause-type is the main-line form of Expository texts<sup>78</sup> — where a clause with a Suffix form of עשה (e.g.) is inserted, then, it provides an event-setting which sets the scene for observations which relate to that context. This type of clause, too, can (rather, must) be analysed according to its text-type.

#### 2.2.2.1.2. "Foreground" versus "Background."

The opposition between main-line and off-line is a syntactic question; the opposition "foreground" versus "background" is similar, but is more a "notional" distinction — in some ways, it is a deep structure distinction which is encoded by a surface structure opposition of main-line clauses versus off-line clauses. Foreground material is that which moves the story/exhortation/instructions/etc. toward its essential goal (whether that be the highlighting and resolution of a peak event, or some other text-type-appropriate goal). Background material is that which does not significantly advance the story/etc. Both "off-line" and "background" material can be categorised in terms of "distance from the main-line" or "degree of backgrounding"; the more unlike the main-line clause-type an off-line clause-type can be shown to be (in terms of its tense/aspect/mood values, for

---

<sup>77</sup> pp. 64ff.

<sup>78</sup> Or so we propose; we will return to this at several points in Chapters Four and Five.

example), the further off-line it can be said to be. This is the principle behind Longacre's clines.<sup>79</sup>

Payne's contribution to Theory and Application, though coming out of research with a somewhat different model, provides a helpful tool for assessing degree of foregrounding. The researcher assesses clauses in terms of high versus low activity, with various factors being important: Mode — Realis (e.g. affirmative/non-future/indicative) vs. Irrealis (e.g. negative, future, conditional); Aspect — Telic (e.g. Perfective/Punctual) vs. Atelic (e.g. Stative or Durative); Agent — Agentive (e.g. Volitional/Intentional) vs. Non-agentive (e.g. Involuntary/Accidental); and Object — Transitive (e.g. Individuated Object) vs. Intransitive (e.g. Non-individuated Object).<sup>80</sup>

These two oppositions are more readily apprehended when seen in their setting; when we are working through texts, we will have ample occasion to examine examples, and fine-tune these concepts.

#### 2.2.2.1.3. Participant Reference.

This term refers to where and how participants enter, are referred to, and exit, their texts. It is found that repetition of a person's name, for example (in a story), when the context identifies the person without him being named — this can signal an important moment in the storyline, etc. Analysis of this feature of texts will not figure highly in the material which follows, though not for lack of value — rather, the scope of our study will be sufficiently limited that we will only make occasional reference to participant tracking —

---

<sup>79</sup> See below.

<sup>80</sup> Payne, David, "Activity as the Encoding of Foregrounding in Narrative: A case study of an Asheninca [central Peru] legend," pp. 63f.; this Transitive/Intransitive opposition is defined differently from what we are accustomed to, and the Object category is evaluated in a "sliding scale" of sorts, so this approach would need to be examined in closer detail than the above were it to be considered for application to our data; but this much gives a good understanding of the issues involved in differentiating foreground and background; even the title of this article suggests the "deep structure" nature of foregrounding, as it must be "encoded" into surface structure features.

when it provides significant confirmation of a doubtful hypothesis, for example.

#### 2.2.2.1.4. Topical Cohesion.

Topical cohesion is a feature of texts similar to that of Participant reference; it refers to the continuity, or lack thereof, through a text of the topic(s) referred to in that text. Tracking their introduction, maintenance, relinquishment, and possible reintroduction, feeds information into an analysis of a text's internal structure. We will make further comments on this later, but by and large this approach to the text will, like the above, serve a confirmatory role only in the analyses which follow this chapter.

#### 2.2.2.1.5. Other features.

Other elements of a text may be examined for their clues to the overall construction of the text. An example of such an element is temporal reference — where does it occur? and in what kinds of clauses? is all passage of time explicitly marked? — and so on. Lexical cohesion is another example — how many times do words having to do with XXX occur in this stretch of text? is that consistent with the rest of this text? etc. A good theoretical base will suggest likely features to watch out for, and while any feature of a text can be examined to see if it has a text-level role, some will be more productive than others.

#### 2.2.2.2. "Profile" features of texts.

Features such as topical or lexical cohesion are examined in terms of their continuity through the text. Other features are not. These are "one off" features, and the ensemble of these solitary occurrences usually tell us much about the text as a whole. We will examine these features in terms of their deep structure concepts, and then in terms of how they are realised in surface structure.

#### 2.2.2.2.1. "Plot."

It may seem odd to run across this term here; is it not a literary analyst's term?

have we wandered outside our own domain? This may in fact be true, but merely underlines the interdependency of these various ways of approaching texts. Each is seeking to understand how the human mind creates and communicates meaning; many of the underlying truths will surface through application of widely differing procedures. This simply confirms the existence of these features as real, rather than theoretical. One such feature is "plot." Literary analysts (not to mention high school teachers) have long considered this one of the structural givens of Narrative History. That stories tend to have a beginning, development, high point, and conclusion, is fairly well acknowledged. As a result of studying a wide range of languages, which have a wide range of story-telling techniques, a hypothetical underlying structure has been proposed.

Longacre proposes seven elements underlying the typical Narrative History text:<sup>81</sup>

1. Exposition  
    'Lay something out'
2. Inciting Moment  
    'Get something going'
3. Developing Conflict  
    'Keep the heat on'
4. Climax  
    'Knot it all up proper'
5. Denouement  
    'Loosen it'
6. Final Suspense  
    'Keep Untangling'
7. Conclusion  
    'Wrap it up'

These elements underlie and inform the surface structure of not only Narrative

---

81 Grammar of Discourse, pp. 20ff.

History texts, but also the remaining text-types. Perhaps some of the terms may seem a bit alien for such a text-type as Procedural/Instructional, or Hortatory, but the concepts of beginning, sustaining, coming to the "point," settling everything out, and concluding, can be found to have their place in texts of any variety of text-type.

#### 2.2.2.2.2. Constituent Structure.

As with any underlying, deep-structure "notion," realisation of these concepts as surface structure features is not always straight-forward, but there is enough consistency for us to propose a set of [roughly] corresponding features:

- I. Title
- II. Aperture
- III. Stage
- IV. (Pre-Peak) Episodes
- V. Peak
- VI. 'Peak Prime' <sup>82</sup>
- VII. (Post-Peak) Episodes
- VIII. Closure
- IX. Finis

I., II., and IX., are defined by Longacre<sup>83</sup> as "formulaic," and are surface structure features only. As is always the case in mapping relations between deep and surface structure features, one cannot always map one-to-one correlations — in this case, for example, the deep structure features "2. Inciting Moment" and "3. Developing Conflict" both realise as "IV. (Pre-Peak) Episodes." The deep structure features do not require us to seek exact replications in the surface structure, rather they permit us to look for a range of potential structures in

---

82 This term is used in the event where the deep structure "climax" is encoded as more than one surface structure peak; in languages which employ specific peak-marking devices (a specific particle, for example), when such a device is used to mark two different episodes, the second will be referred to by this term.

83 p. 20.

the texts we examine. If we sought a specific system of surface features the underlying organisation of the text might elude us.<sup>84</sup> Suffice it to say, we are engaged in looking at texts to discover what they have to offer us in terms of their patterning; the awareness of deep structure features will alert us to language tendencies which may be reflected in surface structures in our texts, which might otherwise escape our notice.

Internal features or units which function to build tension or release it, to confirm a point, to identify the key exhortation, etc., suggest an overall pattern to the text, a pattern of ebb and flow, of rise and fall, which gives a sense of a unified whole. These features suggest where we will find breaks in the text, and also that we will also find functional sections bracketed by those breaks — and that these functional sections fit into an overall plan.

These deep- and surface-structure features give to the text a "profile." This sort of thing can be illustrated readily from familiar stories, such as "The Boy who Cried 'Wolf!'" We recall that this boy, sent to watch the flock of sheep in the hills, became lonely, and twice raised the alarm when there was in fact no threat, just to alleviate his loneliness. We remember, too, that the villagers ceased to trust his alarm-cry, and when the sheep were indeed threatened by the wolf, the boy could raise no help. We remember, in addition, that this story had a moral, and that we were meant to take to heart the value of integrity, and the consequences of sacrificing it. Now, I haven't rigged the data; this is a well-known story, told in a very similar fashion in a wide variety of cultures. But it is the sequence of episodes — the rising and falling of tension, etc., in the story-line, which articulates it into sections — which we recall, rather than the word-for-word tale that we first heard. At a sub-conscious/intuitive level, we have internalized the "profile" of this story, rather than its surface structure encoding only. The only way we have been able to absorb this "profile,"

---

84 It would detain us significantly if we were to go into greater detail on the nature of correlations between deep and surface structure features. The purpose of raising the issue is to demonstrate the fact that these surface-level features are grounded in basic human functions, that they have a real cognitive existence which is not derived from, for example, conventions of literary style — in fact, the converse is surely true, that conventions of literary style, etc., derive from the normal innate human tendency to organise texts along these lines.

however, is by interpreting the clues left for us in such things as the introduction of off-line material to break the flow, the repetition of key words, phrases, and structures, which create for us the patterns of the story.

### 2.2.3. The interleaving of all manner of features in texts.

In looking at texts, then, we are faced with more than a handful of different types of features, some of which form part of the continuity of the text, others of which appear more segmental. These features interconnect: rarely is there disharmony in the indicators of the structure of a text — it would be rare to find a text in which the participant reference, lexical cohesion, backgrounding vs. foregrounding, and plot structure, all seemed to indicate radically different text structures. Rather, all these tend to point the same direction toward a harmony of results. Thus, one often finds that the "Exposition/Stage" section of a story is set apart from the remainder by containing a much higher proportion of off-line material, and that boundaries which are indicated by breaks in the main line, are also confirmed by topic shifts, introduction of new characters, and the like. Even when exploring only one surface-level feature (e.g. a particular clause-type), therefore, it is wise to keep an eye on other features of the text, in order to see the single feature within its larger and more holistic context.<sup>85</sup>

### 3. Methodology.

With these comments<sup>86</sup> on the tagmemic model of text analysis, I have endeavoured

---

85 In my comments on Eskhult's Studies in Verbal Aspect I have criticised his narrowness, for this very reason; likewise I have affirmed Khan's endeavour to identify features other than Ex and PAR which could perform the same function(s). Khan stands a better chance of understanding his feature than Eskhult does, because he sees it in a wider context.

86 In an earlier version of this manuscript, I used the phrase "these few comments." It has been suggested that this might annoy the reader, as thirty pages of tagmemic theory will hardly seem to him like "a few comments." Yet, the reader will surely be aware that this has been a rather sketchy introduction to the model; a much more thorough introduction would be needed to do justice to the security with which this model allows



to present a sufficient theoretical base so that we can test a few hypotheses raised by the model, against data from the Hebrew Bible. The intermediate step, however, is to discuss the kind of approach to the text this theoretical base will lead us to employ. There will be two sections to this: 1) a set of general principles; and 2) those general principles, given specific characteristics to fit our specific context, and to meet our specific needs.

### 3.1. General principles.

#### 3.1.1. The 'war cry': "the primacy of the data."

Our first principle of methodology must be that the data are worthy of analysis. If one approaches a text (or any other research data, for that matter) with the [conscious or unconscious] presupposition that it cannot show us anything which we have not already decided is "there," then we are suggesting that the integrity of the data is somehow "less real" than our prior "knowledge" about it. We presume that we can stand outside the data, and make judgements on it, without allowing it to inform us as to the reasons why it is as it is. We must consider the option that the data can correct our presuppositions, else we might as we give up "scientific endeavour" altogether.

This cannot work: in the first place, we are forgetting that it is always "data" which has brought us to the point of looking at data the way we do; it is data which has broken prior conceptions and brought us from the "dark age" to enlightenment — however those may be conceived — resulting in the approach we now have to the very data we look at. Secondly, we approach data with a desire to learn from it; if we preclude this we have forsaken our role as researchers and adopted that of "imperialist," seeking only to impose our own views, to serve our own ends, despite the possibility that this may not be the most integrative option.

The data had a life of its own before we came to it with our "theory." We must discover how it came to be the way it is, and our only means to this end is to let it speak to

---

us to describe linguistic nuances.

us with its own voice.

### 3.1.2. Selecting a manageable task.

With a healthy respect for data, we can then decide what we would like to ask it. We must use wise restraint in this. Our selection of a topic must be informed by such concerns as 1) the size and characteristics of the database; and 2) the amount of time the researcher intends to give to the study — other factors, such as the needs of the academic community at the time of research, will enter the debate as well. There is little point in asking of Hebrew data, "what is the text-linguistic structure of the Pentateuch?," or "what is the function of syntax in poetic texts?," unless we are prepared for a very long and exhaustive project, for example. The choice of topic to pursue will determine, to a surprising extent, the value, as well as the accuracy, of the results.

### 3.1.3. The theoretical starting point.

Using the theoretical base introduced above for discovering text-types, it would be foolish to embark on a phonological enquiry like "which syllable structures are permissible?" This is because the model one works from will be predisposed to function better for some kinds of enquiries than for others. In addition, when one examines a language from the perspective of a certain model, one will find that the state of description, to date, of that language, will inevitably show certain gaps when compared to what can surface if description were carried out to its fullest on that language, using the model in question; i.e., certain questions, for which this model would be a particularly helpful tool, will already have answers, and others will not. Therefore, we must allow the model we choose to help us determine the enquiry in which it will function.

### 3.1.4. Working with an hypothesis.

Once we have determined the scope of our topic, we are embarked on a process which will largely be governed by the question we ask.

#### 3.1.4.1. Selecting a working hypothesis and a data sample.

We have enumerated several factors above which will influence our choice of question(s) we will ask of the data. The question must also be formulated in such a way to lead us to a productive answer. "Do verbs have a macro-syntactic value?" would be next to useless as working hypothesis; we need something which will result in a concrete observation about the language. "Does the distribution of verbs with **וַיִּי** in non-"Reported Speech" sections of Narrative History, in comparison with other clause-types, indicate possible macro-syntactic significance?" is a much more functional hypothesis;<sup>87</sup> it permits us to make a more substantial comment than "yes," if the data permits it, because the hypothesis already contains a part of the answer.

Once we have chosen a topic, a theoretical starting point, and a working hypothesis, we must also decide what will be included in our data sample. In most modern language studies, the database is more or less unlimited — since living speakers will continually be creating further data — and therefore the researcher must select appropriate material for his study (that is, material particularly suited to the study undertaken). Thus, if one is wanting to discover the text-level features of hortatory texts, it is unhelpful to include prophetic narrative, expository, and procedural texts in the database, as these will clutter the study, and make seeing patterns that much more difficult. On the other hand, if one is wanting to determine the similarities and dissimilarities between expository texts and hortatory texts, it is wise to have several of both on hand to allow suspicions to be confirmed or denied. In short, choices must be made about the type of data examined, and the quantities thereof. Other factors may influence the choice as well; if — as is true in the case of Classical Hebrew — the integrity of the data may be called into question on the grounds of textual variants and

---

<sup>87</sup> In fact, this is a kind of sub-hypothesis, as it would be correlative to other questions we must ask at the same time. Perhaps the "umbrella" hypothesis might be: "Do suspected clause-level macro-syntactic devices for non-"Reported Speech" of Narrative History converge to frame a complete picture of the constituent structure of the text?"

other, similar difficulties, it may be wise to look first at less suspect texts, so that the results achieved can be evaluated without undue complications.

These choices, like any others in the process, add an element of subjectivity to the endeavour, and this, of course, must be kept to a minimum. Restrictions on the database are going to limit the scope of the results to an equal degree, and so should be made wisely. On the other hand, however, language contains such variety that simply taking a handful of data at random rarely allows patterns to surface (unless one is, for example, studying the frequency of a particular feature in a specifically random sample of data).

#### 3.1.4.2. Working to disprove the hypothesis.

Now comes the difficult part: we have to disprove the hypothesis. If we cannot do that, we have substantiated it. This is difficult for a mind trained in "the Arts"; "pure" scientists are more familiar with this principle. And yet all of us are aware that if a theory about a feature is to become accepted as "true," it must be able to withstand all challenges; therefore, if the researcher throws as many of these challenges at the data as possible, he stands the better chance of ushering his hypothesis into the realms of truth.

But this is tremendously difficult to do; once a proposal has come to birth out of an hypothesis, it is difficult to get it out of one's head, and to ask of it if it might, in fact, be better explained another way. Yet this is the only way of securing the proposal.

#### 3.1.5. Charting.

When one examines "texts," the very size of the units of data imposes some difficulty; therefore, how we handle our data is at least as important as in other types of research. When studying whales, one's "field" methods will be slightly different from those used to study goldfish. Beavon writes,

The analysis of texts depends on the use of charts. The better the chart, the

more readily one sees the structure of the discourse.<sup>88</sup>

Choice of charting techniques must eventually rest with the individual using them; and, of course, the more creative the person, the wider variety of charting techniques available.<sup>89</sup> The principal problems which must be solved here are 1) the construction of a chart which actually allows any patterns to surface, and 2) achieving a balance between clarity and detail. If too much detail is highlighted, clarity is obscured, and patterns may be missed; if too little detail is included, patterns may never surface.

### 3.1.6. Drawing conclusions, and "feeding" the theoretical base.

This stage involves determining what, exactly, the data have brought forth during the enquiry. There are two facets to this: 1) description of the results in and of themselves; and 2) comparison of these results with those which the theoretical base led the researcher to expect at the outset. The first requires little comment, other than that it is wise — for the sake of one's reputation as a scholar, if for none other — to be circumspect in one's write-up,<sup>90</sup> and that one's goal in this description is a) to be true to the data, and b) to communicate one's findings as clearly, yet economically, as possible — in a word, "elegantly."

The second, on the other hand, is less transparent. The point is this: if we start by assuming the primacy of the data, and something goes awry, then we must ask questions of our theoretical base, and our methodology. If, for example, we look for a strongly suspected pattern, and find none, we must ask if our charting technique, or perhaps our choice of data-sample, has been at fault. Yet, perhaps the charting technique and the data-sample were beyond reproach, then it is time to ask the same question of the theoretical base — since it indicated that such a pattern would exist.

---

88 p. 250; here "discourse" is used in the sense of "text"; Beavon, "A Partial Typology of Kõnzime (Bantu [Cameroon]) Discourse," in Longacre, *Theory and Application*, pp. 210-255.

89 No limit can be imposed, of course, on the variety thereof.

90 To put this pedantically, "Better a small contribution to the feast, than large claims and humble pie."

Let us return to the example we used earlier, of a phonological survey of possible syllable-types: if our theory says that certain patterns are never permitted, and yet we find words in which these pattern exist, then we must ask if perhaps we have erred when dividing our words into syllables, and have included phonemes in certain syllables which actually belong in others. If this does not seem to be the case, then we must amend our theory to permit such syllable-types.

### 3.2. Specific methodological plan for Chapters Four and Five.

Having now become [at least shyly] acquainted with some of the factors which inform one's approach to the text, the reader will now see how these qualify our own approach to the data in the analyses which follow.

#### 3.2.1. Still "the primacy of the data."<sup>91</sup>

The point has been made, and very probably taken, that the data are the only independently existing, and the only truly real, element of language description. The models, and procedures, with which one approaches the data, serve merely to aid us to see what the data really are. This means, then, that textual emendation of the book of Exodus, for example, will be a last resort during this enquiry; it means as well that questions of scribal additions to the text of Ruth will not deter us from examining the text as a unit, for we presume that scribes were the literati of their day, and if they "contributed" to a text, they will have done so in way which did not violate the kinds of patterns we wish to examine. In short, it means that, in the pages to follow, we are prepared to call into question theory and methodology before callin into question data.

#### 3.2.2. Selecting a manageable task.

This is a slightly different matter. Given that I have chosen a) to evaluate several

---

91 We may accused of whipping a dead horse, here. The overstatment of this principle, however, is for polemic reasons.

other works at the outset of this volume, and b) to introduce the tagmemic model of linguistic enquiry, and principles of methodology, in rather a greater degree of detail than is usually seen in such works, I am then left with less space (and time) to substantiate my claims, than I would like. Therefore, selection of a narrowly circumscribed topic is necessary. And as the theoretical base we have elucidated here has focused to a fair degree on the identification of text-types, and on questions of main-line vs. off-line — and as these were singled out in Longacre's work on Gen. 37 / 39-48, as his most significant insight for contemporary text-linguistic description of Classical Hebrew — it is most apposite that we turn our attention to identification of Classical Hebrew text-types, and their attendant main-line and off-line forms.

### 3.2.3. The theoretical starting point.

We have looked at Longacre's matrix of "notional" text-types, and we have cited his "verb rank clines" of main-line and off-line forms, as being particularly productive for Classical Hebrew; we have also looked at constituent structure of texts as something which may be marked by off-line features. We will therefore take as our starting point these theoretical concepts, and examine our data to see whether they are, in fact, viable for describing our language. We have also dealt bluntly with Niccacci and Eskhult, in terms of their treatment of "discourse" (i.e., "Reported Speech"), and have suggested that their analyses are deficient because they do not deal well with this feature of the text. Therefore, our enquiry about text-types, main-line vs. off-line clause-types, and constituent structure of texts, will do well to include reference to the Reported Speech feature as well.

#### 3.2.3.1. The Narrative History cline.

This cline has already been presented above, as a sample from Longacre's Joseph:



NARRATIVE HISTORY TEXT-TYPE VERB-RANK CLINE

---

Band 1:	1. wc + Prefix clause
Storyline	
<hr/>	
Band 2:	2.1. Suffix
Backgrounded	2.2. Noun + Suffix (with noun in focus)
Actions	
<hr/>	
Band 3:	3.1. hinnēh + participle
Backgrounded	3.2. Participle
Activities	3.3. Noun + participle
<hr/>	
Band 4:	4.1. wc + Prefix of הָיָה
Setting	4.2. Perfect of הָיָה
	4.3. Nominal clause (verbless)
	4.4. Existential clause with הָיָה
<hr/>	
Band 5:	5. Negation of verb clause: irrealis
	(any band) — "momentous negation"
	promotes 5. to 2.1./2.2.
<hr/>	

92

3.2.3.2. The Narrative Prediction cline.

NARRATIVE PREDICTION TEXT-TYPE VERB-RANK CLINE<sup>93</sup>

---

Band 1:	1. wc + Suffix
Line of Prediction	
<hr/>	
Band 2:	2.1. Prefix
Backgrounded	2.2. Noun + Suffix (with noun in focus)
Predictions	
<hr/>	
Band 3:	3.1. hinnēh + participle
Backgrounded	3.2. Participle
Activities	3.3. Noun + participle

---

92 The various, finely tuned, layers will not be contrasted with one another in the analyses to follow.

93 p. 107.

Band 4:	4.1. wc + Suffix of ויה
Setting	4.2. Prefix of ויה
	4.3. Nominal clause (verbless)
	4.4. Existential clause with יש

3.2.3.3. The Hortatory cline.

HORTATORY TEXT-TYPE VERB-RANK CLINE<sup>94</sup>

Band 1:	1.1. Imperative (2nd person)
Primary line	1.2. Cohortative (1st person)
of Exhortation	1.3 Jussive (3rd person)
Band 2:	2.1. אל + Jussive/Prefix
Secondary	2.2. "Modal" Prefix
Line of Exhortation	
Band 3:	3.1. wc + Suffix
Results/Con-	3.2. אל / פן + Prefix
sequences	3.3. Suffix (with future reference)
(Motivation)	
Band 4:	4.1. Suffix (with past reference)
Setting	4.2. Participles
(Problem)	4.3. Nominal clause (verbless) <sup>95</sup>

3.2.4. A working hypothesis and data sample.

The theoretical details are coming together enough now that we can formulate a working hypothesis. So far, we have affirmed a) the primacy and integrity of the data, b) the need to select a fairly restricted topic, which c) ought to be related to the material presented in Longacre’s matrix and clines, and to "Reported Speech" vs. non-"Reported Speech." Therefore, I have chosen to ask, as a preparation to shaping a

94 p. 121.

95 Longacre does not posit a cline for Expository texts; nor will we. Sufficient research has not yet been done to warrant so specific an hypothesis.

working hypothesis, "Can we substantiate the existence of main-line clause-types for more than just the Narrative History text-type? and do these have relevance for Reported Speech as well?"

If we frame these in terms of a testable hypothesis, we might say the following:

Main-line clause-types are text-type specific, and can be described as such; they will predominate in the text, and text-types can be identified by the predominant clause-type.

The main-line clause-type for the Narrative History text-type is the wc + Prefix clause;

The main-line for the [Narrative] Predictive<sup>96</sup> text-type is the wc + Suffix clause.

The main-line clause-type for the Hortatory text-type is built on a "command" form;

The main-line clause-type for the Expository text-types is the Verbless clause;

Other text-types, whose clines have not been described nor intimated by Longacre in *Joseph* will be identified first by features other than "main-line" clause-types (as these have not yet been proposed), and then clause distribution within those texts for which we have able to posit a text-type identity, will be examined with a view toward proposing their main-line forms;

The constituent structure of texts will be marked by divergences from the main-line form in all text-types; off-line marking of constituent structure will be confirmed by other types of marking devices, and will reflect a comprehensible underlying notional structure;

The results of the above analyses will be expected to hold true for Reported Speech as well.

This sequence of hypotheses is simply a specific outworking of the question we have posed above, though it may look like a series of rather too loosely related studies. In

---

<sup>96</sup> I will occasionally refer to this using both labels, to reaffirm the close connection between this text-type and Narrative History.

addition, one may be tempted to object that we proposed to keep this enquiry rather severely circumscribed, and that this list does not seem in keeping with that goal. However, our charting technique, etc., will enable us to kill several birds with one stone; therefore we will have occasion to test more than one hypothesis with it.

In spite of our claims at several earlier point that our corpus of data is small, we will, nonetheless, need further to restrict the material we examine. Given the issues we are concerned with, and the space limitations of this particular study, we will work with no more than, say, a dozen texts, and not many of these in great depth.

It will be advantageous to employ texts with clear boundaries, for this grants a ready assurance that we are dealing with a structural unit which is natural, rather than artificial and perhaps misleading. Shorter texts will be easier to work with than long ones, but they will need to be of such a length as to show at least some internal structure — fewer than 50 clauses in a text, to pick a number somewhat at random, would mean that the text will not be likely to show us much about the language's mechanisms for marking paragraph divisions, etc.

As we mentioned earlier in this chapter, textual concerns with the Hebrew Bible recommend to us that we avoid, where possible, texts which contain serious suspect sections. It will be seen that our choice is not severely restricted by this caution.

Since we are taking as a starting point the more readily accepted view that the *wc* + Prefix forms are the main-line forms for Narrative History texts, it will be wise to examine this hypothesis first, both to affirm its veracity, and to demonstrate the effectiveness of the charting techniques before moving on to texts-types whose results may be received with less confidence.

Following this, a text from another text-type will be required. As we cannot hope to substantiate the existence and nature of every text-type in the matrix — due to the limitations of this study, primarily — some will have to be left behind. Hortatory texts are particularly familiar to us, and that they employ command forms is not difficult to grasp;

therefore, we will take for granted, in this study, Longacre's Hortatory Verb Rank Cline.<sup>97</sup> In addition, Narrative Prophecy has received similar attention in the literature to that received by Narrative History, and its characteristics are likewise more readily accepted without extensive proof — for the sake of this preliminary study, that is — and therefore we can "borrow" Longacre's cline for this text-type as well. As there is considerable Procedural/Instructional material in the Hebrew Bible, this is a logical choice for the next text-type to be examined. Several of these suit our needs admirably (being well-defined units of a reasonable length, with few textual difficulties). In addition, we are fortunate to have a pair of texts — those concerning the building of the Tabernacle — which differ solely by text-type: one is a set of instructions, the second is a report about the completed process. This pair of texts will allow us to compare the two text-types without the complication of differing subject matter.

These are the major factors involved in the choice of texts we will look at in this study; there should be little cause for complaint with regard to the decisions made (particularly in that, at the end of this study, we do not make any hard and fast claims to accuracy, but rather claim only to have pointed the way forward in this discipline).

### 3.2.5. The charting methodology.

Because our first hypothesis centres on the question of whether the wc + Prefix clause-type can be demonstrated to be the main-line clause-type for Narrative History, I chose, first, in the analysis which follows, to display the text "one clause per line"; I also chose to separate out those factors which were irrelevant to my quest. This meant that syntactically subordinated material was placed in a separate column, because clause-initial particles would preclude the use of the wc + Prefix form, and therefore the absence of such a form was easily predictable — it was the unpredictable material I wanted to be able to see at a glance. It was for the same reason that Reported Speech material was separated from

---

97 See above.

non-Reported Speech material (this latter, because it would clearly contain other text-types than Narrative History, and would clutter up the Narrative History material if included with it, to the point that no patterns in Narrative History would be discernible — but, because Reported Speech might, nonetheless, contain some Narrative History material, it was decided that subordinated material should likewise be placed in a column separate from non-subordinated Reported Speech material). And because it was found that subordinated clauses more than occasionally contained, on the one hand, clauses coordinated within that subordination, and on the other hand, clauses subordinated within that subordination, it was decided to allow the distinction to be marked in the charting: where subordination — or other break in the flow from one clause to the next — occurred, a space was inserted between lines, otherwise whether within subordination, Reported Speech, or neither, no space was inserted, implying continuity.

The distribution of clauses in non-subordinated non-Reported Speech material could then be examined to see if patterns regarding this distribution could be found, drawing from the three theoretical starting points considered to be primary: 1) text-type identification according to the matrix; 2) main-line clause-type identification, in comparison with Longacre's clines; and 3) the reliability of off-line clause-types as constituent structure / macro-syntactic markers.

Because these patterns would be more visible if the clause-types were immediately discernible, it was decided to use a colour-coding scheme. At the outset, 16 colours were used to mark all manner of possible macro-syntactic indicators; this rather robust spectrum was found confusing by all but myself, so it was pared down to eight by coalescing such categories as *הנה*, *לא*, and *יש* (among others), into a single category, and by eliminating others from the marking scheme altogether (e.g. infinitives, which were found to have no direct relation to the hypotheses under examination). This colour-coding was perhaps the

most striking feature of the chart, and enormously helpful.<sup>98</sup>

### 3.2.6. Drawing conclusions, and "feeding" the theoretical base.

We have talked about the primacy of the data, and that the results of the research must be allowed to inform one's approach to the data, and one's theoretical base. It might, therefore, be instructive for the reader to have a look behind the scenes, so to speak, at earlier, preliminary studies, with regard to some of the abandoned hypotheses which accompanied, at one time — or preceded — the ones given above.

At the outset, I worked with Hosea, and hoped to be able to propose something with regard to its constituent structure based on clause-type distribution. This was not successful, as I had not yet looked at Narrative History, and had not yet begun to suspect that "poetic" style might not permit as simple an approach as I was hoping to adopt; I found this material difficult to work with for these reasons, and no patterns surfaced.

I then turned to Narrative History texts, beginning with Jonah, and Ruth; these proved far more fruitful. In both, I had adopted the presupposition that Infinitives were clause-level features, and I attempted to examine them as macro-syntactically significant; this was relatively fruitless; therefore I dropped this from my "theory." In addition, it began to appear that Participles had a rather interesting distribution — that they were used attributively or substantively only in subordinated material, and predicatively only in non-subordinated material (i.e., a non-overlapping distribution) — this, however, was not borne out by examinations of other data, and turned out to have been a result of faulty analysis of a few occurrences of the participle. My methodology was adjusted to prevent further mistakes.

Further, I had taken very strong exception to Niccacci's claim that "narrative discourse" was a descriptably distinct entity from that found elsewhere; I challenged this in my approach to the data, and was both justified, and corrected, by them: I found that, yes, what

---

98 Examples thereof are included inside the back cover of this volume.



Niccacci calls "narrative discourse" is distinctive, but that this is due to its being embedded within a clause — that the surface structure of its own initial clause is governed by the ensuing relationship of that embedded unit to the other elements within that clause. In this case, my presuppositions were altered in order to account for data which did not accord with my first preconceptions.

#### 4. Final comments regarding the relationship of this chapter to the following two.

It will be clear to the reader, both from the nature of this volume, and from the way the preceding sections have been written sometimes in future tense, sometimes in present, and sometimes in past tense, that the analysis which follows this section was undertaken prior to it. Yet, as data returns us to theory and methodology, which then inspires us to return to the data, this is not unfitting. The approach which we will undertake with regard to the following material has been adequately laid out; further explanations, and reiterations, of the "hows and whys" of this analysis will accompany the procedures themselves, and the conclusions drawn from the analysis will be interspersed in the accompanying comments, and will be summarised in the final chapter.

NON-NARRATIVE TEXT-TYPES: with data samples from Judges, Leviticus,  
and Exodus

### 1. Introduction.

Now that we have examined the theory and methodology which will instruct our approach to the data, we can look at a few texts. I propose first to analyse briefly a short section from Judges which will give us a chance to test the water with that linguistic text-type which is best known in biblical studies — Narrative History. We will then turn our attention to some Procedural/Instructional material, from Leviticus. The final section in this chapter will look at material from Exodus on the building of the Tabernacle — another Narrative History text, and its parallel, a Procedural/Instructional text. This will give us a chance to examine a new text-type in contrast with a nearly identical version in the more familiar Narrative History text-type.<sup>1</sup>

### 2. Judges 2.

Our treatment of Judges 2, a Narrative History text, will be cursorily brief, for two

---

1 In phonological analysis (analysis of the sound system of a language), for example, one looks for "minimal pairs" of words to confirm that a certain pair of sounds are contrastive at the "emic" level (significant for the language, able to carry distinctions of meaning, etc.), rather than contrastive at the "etic" level (below the level of awareness of the native speaker, etc) — the words קָרָא, "call," and קָרַע, "tear," demonstrate that the contrast between א and פ is significant for Classical Hebrew. On the other hand, the English /k/ sound may have as many as nine "etic" variants (distinguished by where the consonant is articulated, and how it is released); yet it is impossible to find a "minimal pair" where the difference in meaning between two words can be attributed to a contrast between any of these variants (for example an aspirated /k/ and an unaspirated /k/). Finding a minimal pair where one word had an aspirated /k/, and another of a different meaning, whose only phonetic difference was a lack of aspiration after the /k/, would be sure evidence of aspiration as a significant feature of the language in question.

In the same way, the existence of these two nearly identical Exodus texts is a substantial confirmation of the existence of different text-types, for the significant differences between the two texts are explainable by "text-type" alone.

reasons: 1) it is assumed that the reader will not be surprised at the basic text-level features of Narrative History (its predominating forms, etc.), these features often having been discussed in the literature; and 2) we will be returning to another Narrative History text in the following chapter, where we will examine in much greater detail these and other text-level features.

The choice of Judges 2 for our examination is somewhat arbitrary, yet because it is not very complex in structure, and does not rely heavily on reported speech as a means of carrying the story-line forward, it is a good starting point.

A glance at the role of Judges 2 in the book of Judges will be of use to us. Judges 2 is part of the introduction to the series of stories which follow and which focus on specific leaders. In this chapter, however, a synopsis is given, highlighting the cyclical nature of the reported history, and giving a moral assessment of this cycle. It opens with a message from the angel of YHWH — an indictment of the people of Israel for their failure to obey YHWH's commands, and his refusal to intervene any further for them. After this opening section of reported speech mechanism, the story-line proceeds by simple narration. Israel's apostasy, and YHWH's rejection of Israel, announced by YHWH's messenger, is followed by Israel's repentance, YHWH's response and Israel's salvation; this is detailed as the cycle which we will see replayed for the rest of the book of Judges. The simple narration which forms the body of the chapter is bracketed by reported speech, ending the same way it began, with another message of judgement from YHWH.

This section is set off from the preceding material by two clauses which are irregular for the Narrative History text-type<sup>2</sup>. The syntactic marker of the second episode boundary (2.23.2) is what Longacre calls a "momentous negation" clause — that is, a clause in which an important event is indicated by the lack or failure of an action. This boundary is also marked by a topic shift in the following episode, (episode boundaries need not always be

---

2 The first, 1.35.3, is a *wc* + Prefix < וַיִּיכָר > clause, the second is a verbless clause; both are common devices for indicating a break in the flow of the narrative — we will examine these two devices more satisfactorily in the following chapter.

syntactically marked; it is usually the combination of features, syntactic and otherwise — rather than a specific mechanism — which convey the desired signals), if not also a shift to the expository text-type.<sup>3</sup> It is the material between the two judgement oracles which will require our attention at this stage. Of the 80 clauses in this episode,<sup>4</sup> 22 are found in reported speech; we will tarry here only to observe that, of these 22, 9 are subordinated. The remaining 58 clauses are simple narration; of these, 13 are subordinated, with the rest (45 clauses) non-subordinated.

Now, these 45 clauses include a variety of types:

- 1 Ellipsis (2.18.1; mentioned in the footnotes as a  
questionable identification)
- 1 Suffix clause (2.17.4; asyndetic)
- 1 Suffix clause (2.19.2; with  $\text{—ו}$  copula)<sup>5</sup>
- 2 Suffix clauses (with preposed element — one  
with  $\text{וְהָיָה}$ )
- 5 Negated suffix clauses
- 35 wc + Prefix clauses (3 with  $\text{וְהָיָה}$ )
- 45 non-subordinated clauses

A full 82% of these clauses are wc + Prefix clauses. This is clearly the form of the verb which is preferred for conveying Narrative History information. We can separate out, provisionally, the wc + Prefix clauses with  $\text{וְהָיָה}$ , as they tend to indicate states rather than events (and thus do not advance the main line of narration), and are often used to signal

---

3 We will discuss the Expository text-type more fully in the following pages.

4 The consideration as "clauses" of at least two of these (2.18.1, and 2.22.3, both of which are elliptical), may cause some consternation, but I have nevertheless chosen to include them in the count as full clauses; this assignment does not greatly influence the analysis, however.

5 In this, and in the preceding category, we have two examples of what Niccacci says cannot happen ("The QATAL which has first position in the sentence is distinct from a second position QATAL. The first kind occurs in discourse [his term, the reader will recall, for my "reported speech"] but never in narrative" [*Syntax* §8, p. 30]). Our analysis will have less difficulty explaining this feature.

paragraph and other macro-syntactic boundaries. Even with this taken into consideration, *wc* + Prefix clauses (with verbs other than *וַיִּהְיֶה*) account for 76% of the non-subordinated clauses.

It is this kind of distribution which numerous authors have noted, and which justifies reference to this form of the verb as the "narrative" form, etc.<sup>6</sup> The identification of this clause-type as the main-line Narrative History clause-type is the starting point for our research into text-types and their uses of clause-types.

Yet we are faced with approximately a quarter of the clauses in non-subordinated narration being what is termed "off-line." What are these doing? If the *wc* + Prefix clauses are main-line, advancing the narrative by consecutive events, etc. — if these are the bones of the narration, what then are these other clauses?

In brief, if the former are the "bones," the latter are the "joints." We have seen in Longacre, in a variety of works on other language groups, and in his work on Hebrew (and his findings are confirmed independently by others such as Niccacci<sup>7</sup>), that material in non-main-line clauses adds to the narrative, not by moving it forward, but by contributing background information and creating a setting for the narrative. Studies have shown that non-main-line information impedes the flow of narration, and therefore serves the purpose of arresting the reader's progress, either to highlight a particularly significant moment in the narration, or to provide means of distinguishing one sub-section of a narrative from another which follows it.<sup>8</sup>

---

6 We have already referred to GKC's comments on this form: "The *imperfect* with *wāw* consecutive . . . serves to express actions, events, or states, which are to be regarded as the temporal or logical sequel of actions, events, or states mentioned immediately before. The *imperfect consecutive* is used in this way most frequently as the *narrative tense* . . . " [§ 111a, p. 326]. While GKC's description of this form is inadequate at some levels, it must be admitted that the quote above has captured almost exactly the sense of Longacre's concept of "+ Contingent Temporal Succession" — and renders it to the reader in a rather more accessible way!

7 see his *Syntax*, §14, p. 35, et passim

8 See, in particular, Longacre's work, but we have also pointed out Niccacci's comments about main-line and off-line forms — see our page 19 (his pp. 71 and 107); these are but a sample of what is becoming a widely substantiated understanding of text-level

It is important to note that these non-main-line clauses are not evenly interspersed through the text; they tend to occur in groups, breaking the flow of main-line clause-types. In Hebrew, as in many other languages, the more off-line clauses included at a specific point in a text, the greater the focus on the division being signaled, or on the event being highlighted. It is worth graphically examining this interruption of main-line "flow".

In the chart on the next page, the clause numbers are indicated in the left-hand column of each section;<sup>9</sup> moving to the right from that, we have the main-line non-subordinated clauses; in the next two columns we have off-line clauses, and subordinated clauses,<sup>10</sup> respectively. Clauses 2.1.3-2.3.4 and 2.20.3-2.22.3 are the reported speech sections, and are marked by parallel line alongside the main-line column. In this graph, they can be seen clearly to bracket the remaining material. Each clause is marked on the graph with a dot, indicating the kind of clause (with reference to the main line) — with the exception of the elliptical 2.18.1, which is marked by an empty circle.

The features which become most clearly visible in this chart, aside from the two reported speech sections, are the groupings of main-line clauses (wc + Prefix clauses with verbs other than *וַיִּהְיֶה*), and the clustering of off-line material between 2.16.2 and 2.20.2.<sup>11</sup>

Imagine that this chart is a musical score: each line (each clause) stands for one measure and all are the same length; the first column is what the drum plays, the second is the tambourine, the third is the triangle. Now, if we were to hear this "played," we would find that the steady, pulsing "thump" of the drum, which predominates in the earlier part of the "piece," is progressively more and more often interrupted as time goes on, till we hear

---

features.

9 Here, and throughout this study, I employ a Chapter/Verse/Clause number system: hence "Judges 2.18.1" refers to the first clause of verse 18 in Judges 2; there are four other clauses in this verse (2.18.2-2.18.5).

10 I have not made a thorough study of the role (if any) which is played by subordinated clauses in the inter-play of "on-line" vs. "off-line" clauses. The work I have so far done suggests strongly that subordination does have macro-syntactic significance, but I am hesitant to make any judgements as yet.

11 The reasons for assigning 2.17.3 to the "subordinated" column will not necessarily be clear at first glance. Further comments will follow in the text.

very little of it near the end — eventually the drum-beat is nearly swallowed up by the tambourine and the triangle. If we propose that the reported speech sections be scored for flute, then the "musical" bracketing becomes even more strongly highlighted.

	ML	OL	Sub				
2.1.1	●						
1.2	●						
1.3							
1.4							
1.5							
1.6							
1.7							
2.1				12.4	●		
2.2				12.5	●		
2.3				13.1	●		
2.4				13.2	●		
3.1				14.1	●		
3.2				14.2	●		
3.3				14.3	●		
3.4				14.4	●		
4.1		●		14.5		●	
4.2	●			15.1		●	
4.3	●			15.2			●
5.1	●			15.3			●
5.2	●			15.4			●
6.1	●			15.5	●		
6.2	●			16.1	●		
7.1	●			16.2	●		
7.2			●	17.1		●	
7.3			●	17.2			●
7.4			●	17.3			●
8.1	●			17.4		●	
9.1	●			17.5			●
10.1		●		17.6		●	
10.2	●			18.1		O	
10.3			●	18.2			●
10.4			●	18.3		●	
11.1	●			18.4	●		
11.2	●			18.5			●
12.1	●			19.1		●	
12.2	●			19.2		●	
12.3			●	19.3		●	
				20.1	●		
				20.2	●		
				20.3			
				20.4			
				20.5			
				21.1			
				21.2			
				21.3			
				22.1			
				22.2			
				22.3			
				23.1	●		
				23.2		●	

There are four short sections of non-subordinated off-line material (2.4.1; 2.10.1; 2.14.5-2.15.1 [2 clauses]; and 2.23.2), and one long long section (2.17.1-2.19.3 [14 clauses]). Remembering our hypothesis that the macro-syntactic purpose of off-line material is to



signify something with reference to main-line material, we begin to look for their significance: every time we hear the tambourine we must ask why it is being played at that time.<sup>12</sup> What are these devices signalling?

To put matters simply, I would propose that the background material signals 1) the divisions in the text, and 2) the key point of the history. The first two (2.4.1 and 2.10.1) signal the beginning and end, respectively, of the first section of this introduction. I would begin a new paragraph at 2.10.2; there is no reason to connect 2.10.2 to 2.10.1, syntactically, and no objection can be raised at any other level (save perhaps at the lexical level, as both clauses refer to **רור**, but this is a rather weak objection).<sup>13</sup>

I would suggest as well that 2.14.5 likewise signals the end of a section (with v. 15 being connected closely to 2.14.5, as a sort of amplification thereof — see my further comments below on 2.17.3). The final clause of the chapter (2.23.2), as well, signals closure. On the other hand, I would propose that the material in the longer section, flanking as it does the single main-line clause "and he saved them from the hand of their enemies all the days of the judge" (2.18.4), serves to identify the peak event of the section. This, in fact, is the message of the whole of the book of Judges; it is the truth which is to be learned from all these histories — and it is syntactically marked as such by 5 preceding off-line non-subordinated clauses (with 4 subordinated clauses thrown in), and by 3 following off-line non-subordinated clauses (with 1 subordinated clause).

---

12 To return for a moment to the question of subordination as a possible macro-syntactic device, this particular chart shows a remarkable frequency of alignment between [other?] off-line clauses and subordination. The fact that both slow down the forward movement of the main line by contributing background information, suggests that they may function similarly. We will comment again on this in more detail in our treatment of Ruth in the following chapter.

13 **וְגַם כָּל־הָרֹדֶף הָהוּא נִאֲסָפוּ אֶל־אֲבוֹתָיו // וַיִּקֶּם רוּר אַחֵר אַחֲרֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדְעוּ אֶת־יְהוָה . . . .** "And all that generation were also gathered to their fathers // And there arose another generation after them, who did not know YHWH . . . . (I will use this convention [/ /], from time to time, where it is useful to see the text in continuous sequence, but where it is nonetheless advantageous to bear in mind the clause divisions of the text.) Compare Exodus 1.8, where a new paragraph is introduced with nearly identical wording (minus the lexical cohesion, excepting that of "Joseph"): **וַיִּקֶּם מֶלֶךְ־חָדָשׁ עַל־מִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדָע אֶת־יֹסֵף.**

The interaction of verses 14-15, and verse 17, with the rest of the text requires comment.

Verse 17 contains five clauses:

וגם אל־שפתיהם לא שמעו	2.17.1
כִּי־זנו אחרי אלהים אחרים	2
וַיִּשְׁתַּחווּ להם	3
סרו מהר מִי־הָרָרֶךְ	4
אֲשֶׁר־הִלְכוּ אֲבוֹתָם לִשְׁמֹעַ מִצִּוְת־יְהוָה	5

It is 2.17.3 which is most intriguing — here we have an occurrence of a main-line Narrative clause assigned to a subordinated section. Though this may seem alarmingly out of keeping with my proposed assignment of wc + Prefix forms to the main line, this clause is clearly to be considered a continuation of the previous clause, which in itself is subordinated. It is a history within a history — or to put it more technically, we have here Narrative History material, encoded as such, but set into a sentence to serve as an explanation; the fact that it is an explanation has cast it in the form of subordinated material; this in turn forces certain syntactic adaptations on the first of these two clauses: it is forced by the preceding כִּי to forsake the normal [clause-initial] wc + Prefix form, and uses the Suffix form instead; the second of the two clauses in the explanatory Narrative History continues the history, in the normal way, with the main-line form.

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to pursue identification of paragraph-types, it should be noted that these three clauses (2.17.1-2.17.3) form what Longacre calls a "narrative amplification" paragraph, about which he writes, "Amplification paragraphs are paragraphs that consists [sic] of a Text and an Amplification, with the latter adding new information not contained in the former, while at the same time essentially

incorporating the material found in it."<sup>14</sup>

The second section requiring comment is 2.14.5–2.15.5.<sup>15</sup> The six clauses together (three non-subordinated clauses — the first a negated suffix clause, the second a clause with a suffix form of **היה** and a preposed subject and temporal phrase, and the third a *wc* + Prefix clause — and three **אשר** clauses) articulate one thought: that Israel suffered without YHWH's help.<sup>16</sup> This unit serves to conclude the second of the simple narration sections. The following section begins with a shift of topic, with the emphasis being on the salvation of Israel, rather than their humiliation.

So, then, this chapter is in five sections [§§I–V]. It is bracketed by reported speech sections (the first of which [§I] is introduced by two main-line clauses, and the second of which [§V] is concluded by two clauses, one of which is non-main-line). The first section in simple narrative [§II] is set into motion by a *wc* + Prefix clause with **היה**;<sup>17</sup> it deals with the people's faithfulness under Joshua, and is concluded with a Suffix clause with preposed subject. The second simple narrative section [§III] is concluded by the "amplification paragraph" discussed above. The final simple narration section [§IV] is the peak episode of this historical overview; it opens with a topic shift. It is bracketed with two main-line clauses at either end (2.16.1–2, and 2.20.1–2), and contains only one other main-line clause (2.18.4); this is set off from the surrounding main-line material by thirteen non-main-line clauses on either side of it. After the reported speech section [§V], the following chapter begins with a shift in topic, and possibly a shift from the Narrative to the Expository text-type.<sup>18</sup> Judges 2,

---

14 *Joseph*, p. 97.; Here Longacre uses "Text" in much the same way as school grammars tend to use "Topic Sentence." His "Discourse" provides a skeletal introduction to this level of text-linguistic analysis (see pp. 20ff.).

15 See Appendix One for full text.

16 This is another amplification paragraph; v. 15 provides explanatory detail to v. 14.

17 A temporal clause, which is a frequently used device for initiating new sections (see notes on Ruth in the following chapter) — other mechanisms exist for non-macro-syntactic introduction of temporal material (e.g. **בכל אשר יצאו ירייהוה היתה רעהם לרעה**, from v. 15).

18 I, personally, am convinced of this. However, until I can present the whole of the book of Judges as an analysed text (to the body of which I believe this expository section serves as an introduction, in the same way that *wc* + *P* < **היה** clauses and verbless

then, exhibits the following structure:

§I	2.1.1–2.3.4	JUDGEMENT SPEECH NO. 1; boundaries: 2 initial main-line clauses (2.1.1–2), reported speech;
§II	2.4.1–2.10.1	ISRAEL UNDER JOSHUA; boundaries: 1 initial off-line clause, and 1 final off-line clause.
§III	2.10.2–2.15.5	ISRAEL WITHOUT LEADERSHIP; boundaries: initial topic shift; final "amplification paragraph" (sequence of seven clauses, five of which are off-line);
§IV	2.16.1–2.19.3	ISRAEL UNDER JUDGES; boundaries: initial topic shift, peak event marked with 13 off-line clauses.
§V	2.20.1–2.23.2	JUDGEMENT SPEECH NO. 2; boundaries: initial topic shift, final off-line clause followed by topic- and text-type (?) shift.

This brief overview of the macro-syntactic features of Narrative History is the starting point for looking at other text-types. We have seen here that the "wc + Prefix" form is the main clause-type for Narrative History, and that non-main-line clause-types function as "break" markers or peak markers. In the next section we will look at what we will call the "Procedural/Instructional" text-type, with a text sample from Leviticus 14. Neither of these will be exhaustive analyses, but instead will build on the observations just made on the Judges 2 text, and will present to us our first non-Narrative text-type.

### 3. Leviticus 14.1–32.

We now look at a text from a different text-type. Leviticus 14.1–32 is a text which goes on long enough on more or less the same topic for us to see some internal structure, and is relatively free of textual difficulties; other texts offer certain features which we don't find

---

clauses may be introductory to shorter sections of narrative), I will not make this claim.

in this one, but are generally shorter than we would like for a starting text.

The text is a set of instructions for the ritual cleansing of a "leper." It is set, as is the overwhelming majority of legal material in the Hebrew Bible, into a Narrative History framework.<sup>19</sup> The unit is introduced by a typical speech formula (יִדְבֹּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר, 14.1.1); the following section also begins with a speech formula, which is identical to the one in our text, but for the inclusion of Aaron. Within these boundaries, the text is further divided by an Expository introduction, and closure: immediately following the introductory speech formula is an Expository introductory clause (. . . . וְזֹאת תְּהִיָּה תוֹרָה, 14.2.1); the final sentence in the section echoes this (. . . . וְזֹאת תוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר, 14.32.1f.), recapitulating the entire chapter. In addition, the central division, (14.21.1-2) consists of two existential clauses (one verbless [with אִם], the other with אִיךָ); this, however, is not necessarily a reflexion of some attempt to tie this material into an "Expository framework," but is instead likely to be a syntactic marking of the paragraph division.

This chapter contains 81 clauses; the first is the introductory speech formula (a wc + Prefix clause), which presents the material which follows as part of what YHWH said to Moses on the mountain.<sup>20</sup> Of the remaining 80 clauses, 15 are subordinated clauses, 18 are non-subordinated off-line clauses, and 47 are wc + Suffix clauses (not using הִיָּה — two clauses with wc + Suffix < הִיָּה occur, at 14.9.1, and at 14.22.3). Clearly, we have here the same kind of reliance on a main-line clause-type (wc + Suffix < non-הִיָּה verbs), as we saw in the Narrative History. Judges 2, text.

---

19 It is also, it would seem, presented as an Expository text within this Narrative History framework. This need not delay us here; our purpose is to examine the Procedural material; see the notes on Lev. 6.1.1[Heb]-7.37.2, following our treatment of Lev. 14.

20 It is not surprising that religious systems which derive a substantial part of their authority from direct connection with a founder (as is the case in Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Mormonism, etc.), should seek to tie their non-narrative (non-historical) material to an historically validating setting, by passing that material on in a Narrative History format. The " + Agent Orientation" feature is as important to the authority of the text as is the " - Projection" feature.

	ML	OL	Sub				
14.2.1		●					
2.2	●						
3.1	●						
3.2	●						
3.3		●					
4.1	●						
4.2	●			14.1	●		
5.1	●			14.2	●		
5.2	●			15.1	●		
6.1		●		15.2	●		
6.2	●			16.1	●		
7.1	●			16.2			●
7.2	●			16.3	●		
7.3	●			17.1		●	
8.1	●			17.2			●
8.2	●			18.1		●	
8.3	●			18.2			●
8.4	●			18.3	●		
8.5		●		19.1	●		
8.6	●			19.2	●		
9.1		●		19.3		●	
9.2		●		20.1	●		
9.3		●		20.2	●		
9.4	●			20.3	●		
9.5	●			21.1		●	
9.6	●			21.2		●	
10.1		●		21.3a-22.1e	●		
11.1	●			22.2			●
12.1	●			22.3		●	
12.2	●			22.4		●	
12.3	●			23.1	●		
13.1	●			24.1	●		
13.2			●	24.2	●		
13.3			●	25.1	●		
13.4			●	25.2	●		
13.5			●	25.3	●		
				26.1		●	
				27.1	●		
				27.2			●
				28.1	●		
				28.2			●
				29.1		●	
				29.2			●
				30.1a-31.1d	●		
				30.2			●
				31.2			●
				31.3	●		
				32.1		●	
				32.2			●
				32.3			●

This chapter contains 81 clauses; the first is the introductory speech formula (a wc + Prefix clause), which presents the material which follows as part of what YHWH said to

Moses on the mountain.<sup>21</sup> Of the remaining 80 clauses, 15 are subordinated clauses, 18 are non-subordinated off-line clauses, and 47 are wc + Suffix clauses (not using **היה** — two clauses with wc + Suffix < **היה** occur, at 14.9.1, and at 14.22.3). Clearly, we have here the same kind of reliance on a main-line clause-type (wc + Suffix < non-**היה** verbs), as we saw in the Narrative History, Judges 2, text.

In addition, we see the same kind of distribution pattern as we recognized in Judges 2.<sup>22</sup> The features which I find significant with regard to this text are relatively obvious. In the first place, there is a predominance of wc + Suffix forms (the main-line clause-type, left-hand column); these 47 clauses comprise 59% of the clause totals.<sup>23</sup> They tend to occur in strings. Where these strings are broken by non-subordinated off-line clauses, we can propose paragraph divisions, for example:

וְהָיָה נִרְפָּא נְגַע־הַצִּרְעָה מִן־הַצְּרוּעַ      14.3.3  
 אֶת־הַצֶּפֶר הַחֲמִי יָקַח אֹתָהּ וְאֶת־עֵץ . . .      14.6.1

or peak moments in the text, e.g.

וְאַחֵר יָבוֹא אֶל־הַמִּחְנֶה      14.8.5  
 וַיֵּשֶׁב מְחוּץ לְאַהֲלֵי שִׁבְעַת יָמִים      14.8.6

---

21 It is not surprising that religious systems which derive a substantial part of their authority from direct connection with a founder (as is the case in Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Mormonism, etc.), should seek to tie their non-narrative (non-historical) material to an historically validating setting, by passing that material on in a Narrative History format. The " + Agent Orientation" feature is as important to the authority of the text as is the " - Projection" feature.

22 See chart on previous page.

23 The percentage of these main-line clauses may not seem like a vast majority; however, other clause-types fall significantly below this percentage: there are 15 subordinated clauses of a variety of types, 19%; there are 10 non-subordinated prefix clauses with verbs other than **היה** (one of these is clause-initial, 14.9.2), 12.5%; there are 3 verbless clauses, 4%; there are 2 wc + Suffix clauses with **היה**, 2.5%, and one each of Prefix < **היה**, existential clause with **אין**, and **הנה** + Suffix form (a conditional protasis).



וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׂבִיעִי	14.9.1
וְגִלַּח אֶת־כָּל־שָׁעֲרוֹ	14.9.2
אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ וְאֵת זָקְנוֹ וְאֵת גְּבַת עֵינָיו וְאֶת־כָּל	14.9.3
שָׁעֲרוֹ יְגִלַּח	
וְכַבֵּס אֶת־כַּנּוֹרָיו	14.9.4
וְרָחַץ אֶת־בָּשָׁרוֹ בַּמַּיִם	14.9.5
וְטָהַר	14.9.6

If we accept the proposal that these "off-line" clauses are marking the peak events of the episode, then we have a reasonable explanation for the fact that the first shaving of hair is described with a wc + Suffix clause (וְגִלַּח אֶת־כָּל־שָׁעֲרוֹ, 14.8.1), while the second is encoded with the off-line "direct object + Prefix" clause (14.9.3). The suppliant is brought back into the camp, but first only as an outsider, and finally is accepted back into society; the text marks these events as the goal of the entire procedure (cf. also 14.16.1–19.3; 14.25.2–31.3).

The off-line clauses used to mark paragraph division tend to occur singly; those which mark peak sections tend to occur in collections, and form clusters around single main-line clauses, or short strings thereof.

This profile is so similar in nature to that of the Narrative History, Judges 2, that it is difficult to understand how the existence of a Procedural/Instructional text-type has been overlooked.<sup>24</sup>

#### 4. Leviticus 6.1[Heb]–7.37.

We will turn very briefly to another Procedural/Instructional text to challenge

---

24 One could deny them both, of course, but would be hard pressed to explain these features in a more satisfying manner. The data demand an even better and more streamlined description than what we propose here, if the present explanation be rejected.

again our hypotheses, before leaving the book of Leviticus. I would like the reader to consider 6.1.1[Heb]–7.37.2; here we will look at two things in particular:

1) the continued prominence of the proposed main-line clause-type, and the significance of "off-line" clauses as text-level indicators;

and 2) the question of embedding: the Procedural/Instructional material is embedded in an Hortatory frame-work, which in turn is embedded in a Narrative History framework.

Leviticus 6.1.1[Heb]–7.37.2 is another Procedural/Instructional text; it is longer, but it is broken up into six shorter units of differing topics. The material is set into a Narrative History framework, where it is recounted that Moses was commanded by God to command the people (and here we have the Hortatory text-type, which uses command forms, and wc + Suffix clauses for the main line) to do certain things. Each of these units is introduced by a verbless clause beginning with זאת:

The Narrative History and Hortatory introduction:

וַיִּדְבֹר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר	6.1.1[Heb]
צוֹ אֶת־אֲחֵרָיו וְאֶת־בְּנֵיו לֵאמֹר	6.2.1;

the topical "paragraph headings":

זאת תִּזְכֹּר הָעֹלָה	6.2.2
[ו]זאת תִּזְכֹּר הַמִּנְחָה	6.7.1.
זֶה קָרְבֹּן אֲחֵרֶיךָ . . . בְּיוֹם הַמִּשְׁחָח אֹתוֹ	6.13.1
זאת תִּזְכֹּר הַחֲטָאת	6.18.2
[ו]זאת תִּזְכֹּר הָאֵשֶׁשׁ	7.1.1
[ו]זאת תִּזְכֹּר זִבְחַת הַשְּׁלָמִים . . .	7.11.1;

the topical summary:

זאת תִּזְכֹּר הַתִּזְכָּרוֹת לָעֹלָה [ו]לַמִּנְחָה וְלַחֲטָאת	7.37.1
וְלָאֵשֶׁשׁ וְלַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְלִזְבַּח הַשְּׁלָמִים	

and the Narrative History and Hortatory closure:

7.38.1 אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה בְּהַר סִינַי בְּיוֹם  
צִוּתוֹ אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַקְרִיב אֶת־  
קָרְבָּנֵיהֶם לַיהוָה בְּמִדְבַּר סִינַי

These features make it clear that we should consider this section a single larger unit, for the final sentence (7.37.1–7.38.1) summarizes each of these verbless clauses, then recapitulates the Hortatory, and the Narrative History, settings into which this material is set. The narrative summary is, in fact, a conclusion to the first part of Leviticus, for it looks back to the opening statements of the book, giving a specific time reference and topic content, which can only be traced to 1.1, and refers to the material contained in the intervening chapters as "bringing offerings," i.e., the lowest common denominator.

Like the core of an onion, whose layers encircle it, these Procedural/Instructional texts are wrapped in Expository (the **וַיְהִי** clauses), then Hortatory, then Narrative History, layers. The hearer's "way into" this text is by way of story-telling, which recounts a situation in which Moses was commanded to explain to the Israelites, what they are to do, this latter material being the bulk of the text, and taking the form of instruction. This should not appear exaggerated, as the "lexical cohesion" of the bracketing of this text is clear enough to confirm these proposals.

Once we have dispensed with the "brackets," we have a text (or, rather, a set of texts) whose clause-type distribution is similar to that of Leviticus 14.

##### 5. Parallel Pericopes from Exodus.

Our next texts for consideration are found in the parallel accounts of the building of the Tabernacle. The first account, Exodus 25–31, is set in the context of Moses receiving instructions on how the Tabernacle is to be built (this is presented in the right-hand column

["RH"] of the samples accompanying this chapter<sup>25</sup>); the second account, chapters 35–40, is given the form of a "Narrative History" of how the building of the Tabernacle was accomplished (presented in the left-hand column ["LH"] of the samples). We will look at only a sampling of these texts on the building of the tabernacle; a brief analysis will be sufficient for our purpose, which is to mount a comparison between the Narrative History text-type and the Procedural/Instructional text-type. In addition, we will take another look at the question of nature of the Expository text-type.

I have organized the material into "pericopes" (sections exhibiting a kind of semantic cohesion), in the following manner:

A	25.10–22	37.1–9	The Ark
B	25.23–30	37.10–16	The Table
C	25.31–40	37.17–24	The Lampstand
D	26.1–30	36.8–34	The Construction of the Tabernacle
E	26.31–37	36.35–38	The Veil
F	27.1–8	38.1–8	The Altar of the Burnt Offering
G	27.9–19	38.9–20	The Court

The sequential order of the first [RH] set of texts (Ex 25–27) will be followed here; this will displace some pericopes of the second [LH] set from their own particular sequence.<sup>26</sup> We will move somewhat freely back and forth between the LH Narrative History texts and the RH Procedural/Instructional texts, commenting from time to time on the two columns as a set of "parallel texts."

---

25 See Appendix Two: "Exodus Texts Compared in Columnar Format"; a colour-coded sample of this material [pericopes B and C] are included in the pocket in the back cover. These will be particularly useful during the discussions, below, of different text-types.

26 I am not relying on text-critical criteria for this decision; the first set of pericopes is not necessarily chronologically precedent. I have chosen more or less arbitrarily to follow the order of the first set, although it does appear from certain indications to be the earlier version.

My goal is to test the hypotheses constructed from our first examinations of data, on these texts from Exodus. I will not, in this section, go far beyond reconfirming the main-line clause-type of these text-types; there will be occasions where the text throws up difficult passages — for the most part we will have to leave these sections unattended to at this time, though I will comment on how the theory we are working with here would attempt to resolve these problems, or will point the way toward other possible solutions.<sup>27</sup>

Our analysis of the text begins with the question of initial and terminal boundaries of the pericopes. This series of pericopes shifts abruptly from one topic to the next, and tends to mark pericope boundaries semantically rather than macro-syntactically; it does not exhibit much macro-syntactic paragraph indication (of the sort that we observed in the text of Judges 2), that kind of indicator being largely unnecessary due to the explicit topic-shifts.

As the subject matter (rather than the text-type itself), requires the inclusion of a fair number of "measurements," we find that the Expository text-type (which focuses on 'state' rather than 'action') is often embedded into the Procedural/Instructional, and the Narrative History, bodies of material, to incorporate the measurements into the main text.<sup>28</sup>

We will look first at Pericope D,<sup>29</sup> it being the longest of the pericopes in our

---

27 The reader may well challenge me on this point — am I not just fleeing unaccommodating data? My response to this challenge is that I am proposing a detour around data which require more information than the reader has yet been able to assimilate. This study has never had as its goal a thorough-going description of Hebrew macro-syntax, but hopes rather merely to start the process by illustrating some very basic concepts; and we will not be able to return during the present study to solve all these problems. This, too, may sound escapist. However, the purposes of this study are sufficiently broad that we are not able to fine tune each of our identifiable text-types, in addition to presenting the assessments of other works, and the presentation of linguistic principles, theory, and methodology. Such a fine-tuning would require further substantiation non-subord — especially as regards the finer details of each text-type — than space permits if I am to present a taste of the greater system in this dissertation. At the end of the day, the reader will, I hope, concur with me: the material omitted from discussion will be minimal — though, I grant, not inconsequential — in contrast with that with which we will actually engage.

28 As was pointed out in the preceding chapter, the concept of embedding is central to this approach to the language; it is advisable that the reader understand this principle well before going further into the data, for we will make much use of it in this chapter and the next.

selection. The LH text has 43 clauses; the RH text has 51. Three clauses of the Procedural text [RH] are represented by non-clausal elements in the Narrative text [LH] (26.11.3 and 26.11.4 —> 36.18.1b; 26.24.4 —> 36.29.3b),<sup>30</sup> while one clause in the Narrative text is represented by a non-clausal element in the Procedural text (36.25.1a – 26.1f —> 26.20.1g – 21.11). The remaining "extra" clauses in the Procedural text are not represented at all in the Narrative text.

The LH Narrative History text is relatively unexceptional, apart from a higher proportion of *x* + Suffix clauses<sup>31</sup> than we might normally expect (exactly one third of the non-subordinated clauses, and only one fewer than the *wc* + Prefix clauses without *וְהָיָה*). We will return to this detail later to examine its possible significance.

There is a significant break in the pericope between verses 13 and 14, which is marked by this pericope's only *wc* + Prefix clause with *וְהָיָה* (36.13.3 — *וְהָיָה הַמִּשְׁכָּן אֶחָד*); this clause is followed by a clear topic shift (from the curtains of linen, to curtains of goats' hair), and can therefore be said clearly to mark a paragraph boundary. This is consistent with the function of such *וְהָיָה* clauses in other Narrative History texts (cf. Judges 2).

There is another interruption of the more common forms at verses 29 and 30, where three non-subordinated Prefix < *וְהָיָה* clauses occur — this distribution is remarkably similar to the peak-marking devices we saw in our earlier, Narrative History, text-samples.<sup>32</sup>

---

29 [LH] 36.8.1–36.34.3; [RH] 26.1.1–26.30.2, Appendix Two, p. 4.

30 I will leave it to the reader to reference the formatted texts in the Appendices, for all but the major points of this overview, for two reasons: 1) to cut down on the bulk of this chapter, and to enable the text to flow more simply from point to point; and 2) to obviate the necessity of bringing vast amounts of Hebrew text into the English text, for there is little point in illustrating a point with six or eight words of Hebrew, when, in fact, it is only when seen in company with the 180 words on either side of the "six or eight," that the macro-syntactic significance of that "six or eight" can be grasped. Where possible, I will give enough information to the reader for him to use his own Hebrew Bible as a source, but where the feature is most clearly visible in the formatted texts, the reader must access these from the appendices.

31 Where 'x' represents any clause element(s) coming before the verb; cf. Niccacci, p. 13, et freq.

32 We follow the proposed emendation in 36.29.2 from *וְהָיָה* to *וְהָיָה*; the 'ketib' is easily explained as a borrowing from the form in the parallel text (26.24.2), and that

והיו תאמים מלמטה	36.29.1
ויחדו יהיו [היו, mlt mss]	2a
תמים על-ראשו אליהטבעת	b
האחת	c
כן עשה לשניהם לשני	3a
המקצעת	b
והיו שמנה קרשים וארניהם	30.1a
כסף ששה עשר ארנים שני	b
ארנים שני ארנים תחת	c
הקרש האחד	d

Verbless clauses are 9, in total (21% of non-subordinated clauses), and occur in three clusters of three clauses each. Each cluster comes after the introduction of a new topic (i.e., an item is reported as made, then described by measurement; the details of manufacture and/or installation follow),<sup>33</sup> and, in fact, as there are only the three topic shifts in this pericope, the verbless clauses add directly to the macro-syntactic identification of new paragraphs. This format is repeated in a large number of the pericopes in our material.<sup>34</sup>

The Procedural text (RH) shows similarity to other texts of the same text-type. It,

---

וַיִּחַדּוּ resembles closely the preceding, clause-initial, וַיִּחַדּוּ. One might wonder why the making of the two frames for the rear corners of the Tabernacle should be considered the peak event of the episode, yet a very plausible case could be made for exactly this — for this is the last set of instructions concerning the building of the Tabernacle itself, rather than its furnishings.

33 36.8.1, topic shift from the contributions for building, to the construction of linen curtains, followed by three verbless clauses (36.9.1–3);

36.14.1, topic shift to goats' hair curtains, followed by three verbless clauses (36.15.1–3);

36.20.1, topic shift to the boards for the Tabernacle, followed by three verbless clauses (36.21.1–2, 36.22.1).

34 I concede that it is logical to find such descriptive material where we do and that we are not required to posit macro-syntactic significance in order to justify its presence; but equally good logic could be summoned for finding them elsewhere in the text, where they might have no macro-syntactic function. The fact that their presence in the text at this particular juncture can be tied to other facets of the text than its macro-structure does not negate the possibility of macro-syntactic significance.



too, shows the same slightly higher percentage of clauses with Prefix forms of verbs other than **היה** as did the Narrative text just examined.<sup>35</sup> This is not surprising, for where there is clause-to-clause correspondence between the two pericopes,<sup>36</sup> only the following 4 (or 5) clauses render their material with a change of syntax as well as form:

וְאֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן תַּעֲשֶׂה עֹשֶׂר יִרְעֵת שֵׁשׁ מִשֹּׁר 26.1.1

וּתְכַלֵּת וְאֶרְנָמֶן וְתִלְעֵת שְׁנִי

וַיַּעֲשׂוּ כָל־הַכְּסִלִּים כַּעֲשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה אֹת־ 36.8.1

הַמִּשְׁכָּן עֹשֶׂר יִרְעֵת שֵׁשׁ מִשֹּׁר

וּתְכַלֵּת וְאֶרְנָמֶן וְתִלְעֵת שְׁנִי

חֲמֵשׁ הִרְיַעַת תִּהְיֶינָה חִבְרַת אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ 26.3.1

וַיַּחֲבֵר אֶת־חֲמֵשׁ הִרְיַעַת אֶחָת אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ 36.10.1

וְחֲמֵשׁ יִרְעֵת חִבְרַת אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ 26.3.2

וְחֲמֵשׁ יִרְעֵת חִבְרַת אֶחָת אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ 36.10.2

and,

כֵּן יִהְיֶה לְשִׁנְיָהֶם // לְשִׁנֵּי הַמִּקְצֵעַת יִהְיֶה 26.24.3-4

כֵּן עָשָׂה לְשִׁנְיָהֶם לְשִׁנֵּי הַמִּקְצֵעַת 36.29.3

Verbless clauses appear to have the same function of marking topic shifts, as that seen in the parallel, Narrative History, text.

Clauses with **היה** appear to mark boundaries (26.6.3; and 26.11.4 and 26.13.1), and may mark peak events (26.24.1-4 — again it would appear that the completion of the structure of the Tabernacle is marked as the peak event).<sup>37</sup>

35 Non-**היה** clauses: wc + Suffix clauses occur 17 times and comprise 35% of the non-subordinated clauses; x + Prefix clauses, 13, and 26%; verbless clauses, 10, and 20%.

36 42 clauses — 97% of LH, and 82% of RH

37 A possible exception to this is 26.3.1 (noted in the preceding table), which may mark the beginning of action in the pericope, or may not. It is an odd clause: its **היה** existential statement is followed immediately by another clause, a verbatim repetition of the first, minus the **היה** form. The same thing occurs in the parallel text (36.10.1-2), where the wc + Prefix form of **הביר** is transmuted into the Suffix form (both finite forms replace the participles found in the Procedural text); this is less strange, in that it does not require comment as a macro-syntactic feature at the basic level where we are now

Looking at other pericopes of this material strengthens our hypotheses; we will see in our analysis of Pericopes A through C, below, the same general patterns we have seen elsewhere.<sup>38</sup>

We look first at the LH text,<sup>39</sup> which we can provisionally identify as "Narrative History." It exhibits the same sort of macro-syntactic patterns as were discovered in the Judges 2 text and the LH of Pericope D.

Pericope A [LH] has 22 clauses: 10 of these are wc + Prefix clauses (of which one is a clause with **וְהָיָה**); 9 are verbless clauses; the remaining three are Suffix clauses (of which one is with **וְהָיָה**). The pericope ends with a sequence of 6 clauses off-line (37.7.2–37.9.3); the only other off-line clauses are three groups of verbless clauses (37.1.2–4; 37.3.2–3; and 37.6.2–3).

In Pericope B, the 17 clauses are distributed as follows: 10 wc + Prefix clauses (none with **וְהָיָה**); 3 are non-subordinated verbless clauses; one is a Suffix clause with **וְהָיָה**; three more are subordinated, with two of these being verbless, and the remaining one having a Prefix form. The pericope ends with two subordinated clauses (37.16.2–3). The ten wc + Prefix clauses are broken in only two places — with three verbless clauses (37.10.2–4), and with a subordinated verbless clause followed by a Suffix < **וְהָיָה** clause (37.13.3–14.1).

In Pericope C, we find 16 clauses. Here, however, we find a different distribution of clause-types: there are 10 verbless clauses (two of which include a participle); there are four Suffix clauses (two of these with **וְהָיָה**); and there are two wc + Prefix clauses.

The chiastic structure here is unmistakable. One might be inclined to see this pericope as artistically structured to highlight the central clause<sup>40</sup>, but there is little logic — and I, to date, have seen no precedent — for such an intensive highlighting. It is no doubt cleverly devised, and no doubt the central clause is being highlighted, but this explanation in

---

working, but it, too, is curious.

38 A graphic representation of these texts follows the analysis.

39 Ex. 37.1.1–9.3; 37.10.1–16.3; and 37.17.1–24.1, Appendix Two, pp. 1ff.

40 37.19.2: **כֵּן לְשֵׁשֶׁת הַקָּנִים הַיֵּצְאִים מִן־הַמִּנְרָה**, "thus [it was] for the six branches going out of the lampstand."

A/

itself is unsatisfactory. The placement of these clauses is fascinating:

17.1	1	wc + Prefix clause עשה	A
17.2	1	Suffix clause < עשה	B
17.3	1	Suffix clause < היה	C
18.1	1	Verbless clause, with Ptc. < יצא	D
18.2-21.2	8	Verbless clauses	E
21.3	1	Verbless clause, with Ptc. < יצא	D'
22.1	1	Suffix clause < היה	C'
23.1	1	wc + Prefix clause עשה	B'
24.1	1	Suffix clause < עשה	A'

It is internally consistent — within our theoretical base — to interpret the group of "static" clauses (the two היה clauses, and the ten verbless clauses<sup>41</sup> — 37.17.3 – 37.22.1) — as an embedded Expository unit, with its own aperture, body of material, peak statement, and closure, inserted into an otherwise unexceptional narrative history text. This also produces a much more streamlined ("elegant") description.

Returning our attention to the larger text, we will find it helpful to look at these counts from a different angle, to get a bird's-eye view of the clause distribution. The following chart shows, in a condensed form of our previous charting technique, the clause count of Pericopes A through C; as in the earlier chart, the main-line clauses are in the left-hand column, non-subordinated off-line clauses are in the centre, and subordinated clauses are in the right-hand column:<sup>42</sup>

---

41 The latter of which Longacre proposes to be the main-line clause-type for expository texts [*Joseph*, pp. 111ff.; "Perspective," pp. 88f.]

42 I have included in this chart, for the sake of comparison, the clause counts of 37.25.1-38.8.2 (31 clauses, two pericopes; the first pericope has 12 clauses, the second, 19), even though these pericopes are not included in the parallel texts in Appendix 2. Although we do not examine them in depth, this glance at their structure gives an idea of the kinds of forms which predominate in these contiguous texts.

Pericope A:	ML	OL	Sub
	1		
		3	
	3		
		2	
	4		
		2	
	1		
		6	
Pericope B:	1		
		3	
	6		
			1
		1	
	3		
			2
Pericope C:	1		
		1	
		1	
		10	
		1	
	1		
		1	
[37.25.1-37.29.1]	1		
		4	
		1	
	2		
		1	
	3		
[38.1.1-38.8.2]	1		
		4	
	1		
		1	
	2		
		1	
	5		
		1	
	1		
			1

The totals of this series of pericopes are:

37    44    4

There are 85 clauses in these five pericopes, of which 37 are wc + Prefix clauses with verbs other than וַיְהִי. This may seem like a severely weakened "Narrative History," with so few main-line clauses, but an alternative view of this distribution gives slightly less worrisome results. If we regard clusters of verbless, and וַיְהִי clauses, as embedded

"Expository" material, the clause counts regain some equilibrium.<sup>43</sup> From our tally of Narrative History, non-subordinated off-line material, we may then exclude those sections where two or more of these "Expository-type" clauses occur in sequence,<sup>44</sup> and find this distribution:

37 13 4

This is what we would expect to find in such a text, and the explanation given of embedding satisfies both logic and theory.

However, we find considerable mixing of clause-types in these pericopes; and although there is sufficient presence of wc + Prefix clauses to warrant proposing that these texts are related in text-type to the Judges 2 "Narrative History" that we examined earlier, we need to consider another option as well.

Longacre writes that

procedural/instructional discourse looks very similar to predictive. Both, for instance, have a mainline which consists of *wāw*-consecutive perfects. But while in predictive discourse imperfects can occur both in VSO clauses to mark a secondary storyline and in NV clauses [Noun-Verb clauses] to mark an action/event relative to a noun, in procedural discourse the imperfect occurs only in NV clauses.<sup>45</sup>

What does he mean? Another look at the matrix of text-types will elucidate the question:

---

43 This may seem dangerously close to "doctoring the data," but the reader, as my captive audience, must permit me, at least temporarily, this hypothesis. Other material will be presented, in due course, which will help to substantiate this position.

44 A moment's consideration of these sections of the data (31 clauses) will show that they tend to be corroborative descriptive material, and are only loosely tied to the main-line material.

45 "Perspective," p. 183.

	+ Agent Orientation	- Agent Orientation	
+ CTS	<u>NARRATIVE</u> Prophecy	<u>PROCEDURAL</u> How-to-do-it	+ Proj.
	Story	How-it-was-done	- Proj.
- CTS	<u>BEHAVIOURAL</u> Exhortation Promisory	<u>EXPOSITORY</u> Budget Proposal Futuristic Essay	+ Proj.
	Eulogy	Scientific Paper	- Proj.

If "Predictive discourse" (what I would call the Narrative Prediction text-type, to preserve its close ties with Narrative History), is so similar to the Procedural/Instructional text-type, that they share, for example, main-line clause-types, then it is possible that our LH text be a different text-type from "Narrative History" altogether. It stands to reason that, if Narrative Prediction and Procedural/Instructional text-types are similar, then Narrative History and "Procedural/Lab Report" (as we shall call it) may likewise differ in rather subtle ways only.

It is worth juggling the idea, then, that both columns of these Exodus texts may be, in fact, Procedural — the RH being the Procedural/Instructional, the LH being Procedural/Lab Report, text-type.

Returning to the parameters of our matrix yet again, the first set of texts (RH) is clearly "minus Agent Orientation," and therefore Procedural, or Expository; the second (LH)

set of texts may be "plus Agent Orientation," as the agent/actor is mentioned by name on more than one occasion (Ex. 35.30ff., 36.1, 37.1, etc.), or it, too, may be "minus Agent Orientation," as the agent/actor references are very few, and the sense of the text does not hang in any way on interplay between the agent/actor and event (as it so clearly does in "pure" Narrative History).

Yet another possibility is that Hebrew does not significantly distinguish the Narrative History text-type from the Procedural/Lab Report text-type. In a majority of languages studied to date by linguists, these two text-types are distinguished from one another by language-specific means<sup>46</sup> — and it may be that the same is true of Classical Hebrew; likewise, it may be that in Classical Hebrew these text-types form a "porte-manteau" category (two halves folded into one), where both receive the same encoding treatment.<sup>47</sup>

Our data here present no conclusive pressure for differentiating the two text-types for Classical Hebrew — the differences observable between other Narrative History texts, and the texts in our LH column, may be occasioned by stylistic factors, for example — but we may yet find that these two conceptually different text-types<sup>48</sup> encode their information with subtle differences in choice of clause-types, as Longacre proposes with reference to Narrative Prediction and Procedural/Instructional texts.

With the current state of research, however, we must content ourselves to note the similarity between these [LH] pericopes, and the material we examined from Judges 2, and to note that if Hebrew does distinguish these two text-types, then it does so at a fairly subtle level. Further research on this question will permit us to comment on this issue with greater confidence. We may proceed in spite of this insecurity, however, to gain as much ground as we can at this early stage in our description.

---

46 In English, for example, the Procedural/Lab Report text-type relies heavily on passive forms, which are rare in Narrative History.

47 There is ample precedent for the coalescing of two logical categories into one "less logical" one — one has only to look at the verbal 'themes' of Classical Hebrew, where the nine-cell chart has two "holes," whose functions are adopted by other forms. Despite these holes, the language continued to function apparently without difficulty.

48 That is, different at a deep-structure level.



The consistent similarity to each other of the two columns requires little further comment. The texts in the two columns are very nearly identical. Apart from certain lacunae (at both the word- and the clause-levels), there are few changes in vocabulary, and only minimal changes in syntax. In the samples given (pericopes A through G), the "How-to" (RH) account contains 191 clauses (of which 46 are omitted from, or replaced by non-clausal elements in, the other), and the "Narrative History" (LH) account contains 161 clauses (of which 16 do not occur in the RH account).

LH column alone	both LH and RH columns	RH column alone
16	145	46

These clause totals do not require closer attention; they represent the same kind of shifts and omissions which were commented upon above, in the notes on Pericope D.

Using the set of parameters from Longacre's theoretical base, we can analyse the significant "deep-structure" differences between the two texts. The most obvious of these is Projection: the first text (RH) puts the doing of these things into the future, and, therefore, according to Longacre's terminology, is "plus," with reference to "Projection" — the second text (LH) places the doing of these events in the past, and is therefore "minus," with reference to "Projection".

Parameter	LH	RH
Projection	-	+

The texts in the RH column are clearly "minus Agent Orientation"; we have already discussed the question of "Agent Orientation" with regard to the texts in the LH column — these we are inclined to call "plus agent Orientation," until we have stronger pressure to reconsider this identification.



or possibly

" + CTS / - Agent Or. / - Proj.," "Procedural/Lab Report."

The jargon of the preceding paragraph is a technical way of saying that — in addition to being nearly identical at the micro-syntactic, lexical, and semantic levels — Exodus 25-27 and Exodus 35-38 are a "minimal" pair of texts<sup>49</sup> which belong to different (yet very similar) linguistic text-types, and that we see here two sets of texts whose very few differences between them are largely due to their difference of text-type. This pair of texts allows us to examine text-type differences without the confusions of working with unrelated texts.

Before we leave the Exodus texts, we will examine just one more pericope (the others included in the appendix provide no new surprises). Pericope G<sup>50</sup> begins as one would expect, given the data we have so far surveyed, with a "wc + the appropriate conjugation" clause, and is marked as well by a topic shift (to "the court of the Tabernacle"). The terminal boundaries of the two texts are marked by topic shifts.

The exceptional feature of this pericope, is that these are the only clauses with finite verbs; all others are verbless clauses. In the RH text the only distinctive feature of the remaining clauses is that two of them contain participles (27.16.1 and 27.17.1); the same is true of the LH text (here the corresponding clauses occur in the opposite order — 38.17.4 and 38.18.1). These texts are clearly neither Narrative History (or Procedural/Lab Report) nor Procedural/Instructional; following clues from their semantic content and their macro-structure, we are led to conclude that we have here another instance of an embedded Expository text — the Expository text-type is found at the bottom right of Longacre's matrix.

---

49 Or perhaps, what is termed an "analogous pair" — where the difference between the two compared items are not so great as to throw doubt on the analysis, but are slightly greater than the single difference required for the term "minimal pair".

50 27.9.1-27.19.1 and 38.9.1 -38.20.1, Appendix Two, p. 8.

	+ Agent Orientation	- Agent Orientation	
- CTS	<u>HORTATORY</u>	<u>EXPOSITORY</u>  Exposition of "Something Yet-to-Be"	+ Proj.
		Exposition of "Something Which Is"	- Proj.

The proposed "embedded Expository texts" from Pericope C can be added to these data, and some conclusions can be ventured, based on the kinds of things we have seen in other text-types.<sup>51</sup> These texts are representatives of the Expository text-type; longish stretches of this text-type are not frequent in the Hebrew Bible, though the text-type is seen frequently as smaller pieces embedded in other text-types.

Its main-line clause-type appears to be the verbless clause, and its principal off-line clause-types, x + Participle clauses, and clauses with finite forms of *ויהי* (which identify, where necessary, the temporal reference ["plus -" or "minus - Projection"] of the material) —

---

51 Due to the small amount of data currently at our disposal, I offer these only as a tentative working hypothesis, although I do not believe they will require much alteration as more data is processed. The existence of this as a logical, "notional" (deep structure) category, and the fact that this text-type is encoded in relatively consistent ways in other languages, permits us to "borrow in" the category for use in describing Classical Hebrew, despite the severely limited amount of data available for analysis. We accept this "borrowing in," as a working hypothesis, looking to language universals for possible characteristics, and rely on the data 1) to deny us this hypothesis; 2) to force us to admit that our data are insufficient to the task of proving or disproving the hypothesis; or 3) to confirm the existence of the category proposed. Leaving out this text-type considerably complicates our description, where including it as a feature of the language enables us to formulate a more elegant description.

our data so far have shown us only  $x +$  finite forms of  $\text{היה}$ , and I would suggest that clauses with  $wc +$  finite forms of  $\text{היה}$  will be even less common, as they move further away from the stative sense of the main-line clauses.<sup>52</sup>

In the preceding pages we have examined a variety of texts; these have shown us at least three text-types: Narrative History, Procedural/Instructional, and Expository. Other text-types which have been hinted at, but which we have not yet examined are Narrative Prediction ("Prophecy"), and Hortatory; in addition, a possible Procedural/Lab Report text-type may come into play in the "minus Projection" texts [LH] of the Exodus pericopes we looked at.

In the next chapter, we will continue our examination of macro-syntactic features, and will apply our theory and methodology in the analysis of a complete text (and will try to determine more precisely the nature of Expository text-types), to test our initial working hypotheses, and the hypotheses derived from this chapter's analyses. In brief, these latter are:

- 1) The main-line clause-type of the Narrative History text-type is the  $wc +$  Prefix clause-type; its off-line forms are  $wc +$  Prefix clauses with  $\text{היה}$ , Suffix

---

52 On the clause-types one can expect in Expository texts, Longacre writes:  
 "... it is sufficient to note that as the inverse of narrative discourse (and to some degree of predictive as well), expository discourse can be defined as discourse in which the most static verb forms of a language predominate and have the highest ranking. For this reason, elements at the bottom of the the clines for Narrative, Procedural, and Hortatory discourse [see Chapters Three and Four in this dissertation] have the highest ranking in Exposition.

"Thus the nominal (verbless) clause is the static clause par excellence. Clauses with  $yēš$ , 'there is', and  $'ēn$  'there isn't', (also the negative of nominal clauses) have about the same ranking as nominal clauses. Clauses with copulative uses of  $hāyā$ , 'be', rank a step lower; by virtue of having any sort of verb at all they are not as completely static as verbless clauses. Possibly, clauses with stative/denominative perfects rank next; these verbs are essentially adjectival in function. Below all of these rank clauses with participials [i.e., participial clauses] — since these encode activities in whatever discourse type they are found. Finite verbs rank lowest . . . . Not that the sort of clauses that predominate in expository discourse are the typical stuff, for example, of Setting in narrative paragraphs. Clearly, what is off-the-line in narrative is on-the-line in exposition" [*Joseph*, pp. 111f.].

clauses, and verbless clauses, with or without Participles;

2) The main-line clause-type of the Procedural/Instructional text-type is the wc + Suffix clause-type; its off-line forms are wc + Suffix clauses with **וְיִי**, Prefix clauses, and verbless clauses, with or without Participles;

3) The main-line form of the Expository text-type (whether "+ Projection" or "- Projection") is the Verbless clause; "+ or - Projection" will be indicated in this text-type by some of its off-line clauses (those with finite verbs will show the temporal orientation of the texts); its off-line clause-types are verbless clauses with Participles, clauses with **וְיִי**, and clauses with other finite verbs.

4) A shift from the main-line clause-type to an off-line clause-type is indicative of a break in the flow of the text; this can serve three functions (though perhaps not all three at the same time): a) to indicate the introduction of background information; b) to signal a change of scene; and c) to indicate the peak event, most important fact, etc., of the text;

5) Texts may be embedded in other texts; just as a Participle can "fill the slot" ("perform the function") of Subject in a clause (e.g. "Singing is fun"), so also can a Verb Phrase, or Sentence (e.g. "To be or not to be is not the only question") — i.e., items from the next lower structural level are the expected constituents of a construction, but items from other levels may in fact be the constituents;

6) Material of one text-type may be imported into another by means of embedding; the embedded material becomes part of the incorporating unit in the same way as does any other functional part of that unit. The identity (e.g. the text-type) of the embedded material is not altered by the embedding process.

HYPOTHESES

1. Introduction.

In this chapter, we will examine two texts in detail (Judges 10.6–12.7, "the Jephthah story;" and the book of Ruth), building on observations made in the last chapter; with the intent of working our way towards a balanced presentation of Hebrew macro-syntax, as descriptive of what is seen in the data.

Our main purpose, as we turn our attention to the Jephthah story, is to underline a principle which will be received with a certain amount of scepticism by some hebraists, and which, therefore, will require an ample and rather painstaking explanation. The thesis of this principle is this: Features which are characteristic of specific text-types are going to be found in material of that text-type, whether in Reported Speech sections or not.<sup>1</sup>

To this end we will look at the non-subordinated narrative, and compare it to five Reported Speech sections of the Jephthah story.<sup>2</sup> Here we will be confronting directly Niccacci's thoughts on this passage, for he comes to very different conclusions from our own. We will need to till the soil fairly deeply in this section — moving slowly in order to establish common ground from which to work in the analysis which follows, of these two texts.

We will also need to wrestle once again with the principle of embedding; many of the examples of individual text-types which we will identify in the analyses which follow will occur in combination with other text-types, and unless the concept of embedding is well-understood, the reader will not be able to judge accurately our results and proposals. Here again we will move at a fairly deliberate pace.

When we have completed our examination of the Jephthah story's Narrative History

---

1 As is asserted by hypothesis 6), see previous page.

2 Judges 10.10.1–14.4 [16 clauses — actually two contiguous Reported Speech units]; 11.7.1–5 [5 clauses]; 11.15.1–27.3 [45 clauses]; and 12.2.1–3.6 [10 clauses]; relevant sections of the main text will be quoted, as well as the complete texts of the Reported Speech material. "Reported Speech" will occasionally be abbreviated to "Rep'd Speech".



sections, which will serve to illustrate and clarify certain theoretical points, we will turn to the book of Ruth. Here we hope to leave aside, as much as possible, polemic and explanatory material about theoretical issues, in order that we may look at a single text with all our tools at hand, to see what results.

## 2. The Jephthah Story: Judges 10.6–12.7.

### 2.1. The main narrative.

In the Jephthah story, we will look first at the patterns found in non-subordinated narrative (chiefly those created by the shifts away from the main line), and will then focus our attention on our five sections of Reported Speech. These selections will permit us to examine the Narrative History text-type in Reported Speech, to see whether, in fact, it does obey different rules, as Niccacci claims.<sup>3</sup>

I have found it most helpful to date to arrange these clauses in the format described for Judges 2 in Chapter Four, with subordinated material set apart from un-subordinated, and "narration" set apart from Reported Speech. This gives us the following distribution of the clauses<sup>4</sup> in this story (see next page).

A large proportion of the text is Reported Speech (54%);<sup>5</sup> this proportion is, in fact, fairly standard in Hebrew Narrative History.<sup>6</sup> It is common to accomplish a large proportion of the story-telling by recording the interaction of the participants.

In early parts of a Narrative History, however, the scene is being set for what

---

3 §§28 [p. 49] and 75 [pp. 102ff.], esp. p. 107.

4 A total of 230 clauses, not including the elliptical clause proposed for 11.13.2; this 'empty' clause is proposed on the basis of the fact that the clause which "follows it" is syntactically subordinated, and requires something to be understood: וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי-עַמּוֹן אֶל-מְלָכֵי יַפְתָּח [+++] כִּי-לָקַח יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-אֶרְצִי . . . 11.13.1, [2], 3. This empty clause does not figure in any of the clause counts presented.

5 See chart, following page.

6 Cf. Ruth, where 56% of the clauses are Reported Speech; see chart below in this chapter, §3.1.

follows, and Reported Speech is not used<sup>7</sup> — we will look at this again in the "Jephthah Story" at a later point, and will examine the role of Reported Speech in much greater detail in the book of Ruth.

D	C	B	A
---	---	---	---
(subordinated rep'd speech)	(un-subordinated rep'd speech)	(subordinated narration)	(un-subordinated narration)
---	---	---	---
41 clauses	83 clauses	7 clauses	99 clauses
18%	36%	3%	43%
Reported Speech		Narration	
---		---	
54%		46%	

As with most of the Judges stories, the boundaries of this pericope are marked primarily with semantic features: most often the report of the death of a particular judge marks the end of one pericope, as is the case in this instance [12.7.2-3]; and the inception of a new section is marked either by the introduction of a new judge straightaway (if the judge's reign is dealt with only cursorily [e.g. Shamgar, 3.31: . . . ואחריו היה שמגר בן-ענת, "And after him was Shamgar . . . .]), or by the formula "And the people [again] did evil in the eyes of YHWH" (e.g., Gideon: . . . . ויעשו בני־ישראל הרע בעיני יהוה), as in this case (10.6.1, with אסף). There is no heavy macro-syntactic marking, as the pericopes are clearly distinguishable on the basis of content.<sup>8</sup>

7 This is the most fitting explanation for the relative lack of reported speech in Judges 1, and especially, 2 — it is introductory to the remainder of the book, and as such its job is not so much to describe events, as to establish setting.

8 It may be that this identification by contents rather than by syntax is merely a matter of the author's choice, and therefore "stylistic"; on the other hand Classical Hebrew may betray a preference for one or the other of these across the board, or in certain contexts. No strong pattern has emerged from the data so far evaluated.

With the borders of our passage thus secured, we will first examine so-called "narration" (the two RH columns) — material which is not related by Reported Speech (the two LH columns). Distribution of the clause-types in this material is shown below:

(Column B)	(Column A)	(Column A)
Subordinated	Non-main-line	Main-line
Clauses	Clauses	Clauses
7	18	81

The total of these clauses is 106, the percentages being 6.6% / 17% / and 76.4%, respectively. The clause-type distribution for non-subordinated, non-Reported-Speech clauses (column A in the "columnar" text) is:

wc + Prefix	81
wc + Pref of הִיה	6
Suffix	5 (3 negated)
Suffix of הִיה	2
Verbless Clauses	3
Clause with אִין	1
Prefix	1

This indicates once again a decided preference for wc + Prefix clauses to tell the story.<sup>9</sup> The thread of wc + Pref forms in column A is broken by eighteen clauses (not counting subordination and Reported Speech), producing 12 breaks in the main line of the story — most of these clauses occur singly, but at three places the off-line clauses occur in

---

9 As these figures total 99 clauses, the percentages are self-evident.

"clumps"<sup>10</sup> — forming the major hinges in the story.

Following macro-syntactic clues (with minimal reference to other [e.g., semantic] clues), we can make the following outline of the story, as it is told by the clauses in Column A (the asterisks in the chart mark non-subordinated off-line clauses — ‘\*/’ indicates one off-line clause at the beginning of a section; ‘/\*\*’ indicates two off-line clauses at the end of a section; ‘\*/\*\*’ indicates one off-line clause at the beginning, and two at the end, of a section):

1.		10.6.1–18.4	Introduction
1.1.	/*	10.6.1–4	General Introduction: Israel’s apostasy
1.2.		10.7.1–18.4	Specific Introduction: YHWH’s response, and Israel’s oppression
2.		11.1.1–12.7.3	Jephthah’s Life
2.1.	**/*	11.1.1–3.4	The Introduction of Jephthah
2.2.		11.4.1–33.2	Jephthah and the Ammonites
2.2.1.	*/	11.4.1–2	The Ammonites Wage War on Israel
2.2.2.	*/*	11.5.1–28.2	Jephthah’s Defence
2.2.3.	**/*	11.29.1–33.2	Jephthah’s Offence
2.3.		11.34.1–40.1	Jephthah’s Daughter
2.3.1.	****/*	11.34.1–38.2	Jephthah’s Daughter — the Victory Sacrifice
2.3.2.	*/**	11.39.1–40.1	Jephthah’s Daughter Returns
2.4.		12.1.1–7.3	Jephthah and the Ephraimites

---

10 These occur at 1) 11.1.1–2 (2 clauses): ויפתח הגלעדי היה גבור חיל \ \ והוא בן־אשה \ \ זונה \ \ ויולד גלעד . . .

2) 11.34.2–35.1 (4 clauses): והנה בתי יצאת . . . \ \ ורק היא יהיה \ \ אין־לו ממנו בן \ \ אורבת \ \ ויהי בראותו אותה \ \ ויקרע את־ . . .

and 3) 11.39.5–40.1 (3 clauses): והיא לא־ירעה איש \ \ ותהי־הק בישראל \ \ מימים ימימה \ \ תלכנה בנות ישראל . . . \ \ ויצעק איש . . .

2.4.1.	12.1.1-5.1	The Conflict
2.4.2.	*/*	12.5.2-6.7
		The Aftermath
3.	12.7.1-3	Concluding Formula

There is nothing very new or particularly astute about this division of the text, based on its macro-syntax and its semantic content.<sup>11</sup> We will comment only briefly on the more important features of this text.

We have made mention above of breaks in the stream of main-line clauses; we have specifically mentioned, so far, only those places where the main line is broken by off-line, non-subordinated clauses.<sup>12</sup> We will now be looking as well at breaks in the main line created by subordination and by Reported Speech. First, however, we return to the question of off-line clauses in column A.

These clauses have a similar distribution to those we looked at in Judges 2: that is, those which occur singly appear to indicate minor paragraph breaks; those that occur in larger blocks appear to indicate a major break, or a peak in the episode. Applying this observation to the text at hand, we find that there are 9 such "minor breaks," and (as previously mentioned) 3 "clumps."

These are found in the text as follows:<sup>13</sup>

10.6.4	neg'd Suffix cl.	end of intro. to the Jephthah history
11.1.1-2	Subj. + <span>וַיִּהְיֶה</span> cl. Verbless cl.	introduces Jephthah episode
11.4.1	<span>וַיִּהְיֶה</span> + N Phr	introduces episode of Jephthah and Ammon

---

11 Scholars have long followed both guidelines in constructing outlines of their texts; I am not claiming anything which has never before been noticed — rather I am trying to collate it into a new form of description.

12 I.e., remaining within the confines of "Column A" in our formatted text.

13 Multiple contiguous occurrences of off-line clauses are indicated by reverse indentation.

11.5.1	וַיְהִי + sub'd cl.	introduces [embedded] episode of the Elders of Gilead and Jephthah
11.28.1	neg'd Suffix cl.	concludes episode of Jephthah's messages to Ammon
11.29.1	וַתִּהְיֶה + Subj. + PrepPhr.	introduces episode of Jephthah's battle with Ammon
11.29.4	Suffix cl.	concludes "aperture" section of episode of Jephthah's battle with Ammon
11.34.2-35.1	וַהֲנֵה + Ptc. cl. Verbless cl. אֵין cl. וַיְהִי + InfPhr.	marks peak event (the appearance of Jephthah's daughter)
11.39.1	וַיְהִי + PrepPhr.	introduces closure section of [embedded] episode of Jephthah's daughter
11.39.4-5	Subj. + Neg'd Suffix cl. וַתִּהְיֶה + NPhr	concludes closure section of episode of Jephthah's daughter
12.5.2	וַהֲנֵה + sub'd speech formula	introduces "Shibboleth" episode
12.6.4	neg'd Prefix cl.	concludes "Shibboleth" episode

The deployment of these clauses is not uniform; there is no off-line clause (or series thereof) at the end of chapter ten, where we might expect one, to indicate that the 'introduction' has ended and the 'main episode' is about to begin. This should not be perceived as a failure of the system; such features as lexical and participant strings suggest such a division even where no off-line clauses are employed.<sup>14</sup> Yet this is not the final word on the matter, for it will be shown below that subordination, Reported Speech, and longer stretches of main-line clauses also contribute to the "text-map" given to the reader/hearer.

Subordination from the main-line (or rather from "Column A") occurs only 7 times

---

14 Cf. our comments on Judges in the previous chapter, and on the Exodus pericopes, where episodes are not distinguished so much macro-syntactically as semantically.

in this story. We made note in the previous chapter of the distribution of subordination in the texts we studied, and commented on its possible function as a text-level feature. Here again, the distribution of subordinated clauses arouses suspicion, for they occur only at boundary or peak sections:<sup>15</sup>

10.8.3-4 "... all the people of Israel, אשר were beyond the  
Jordan in the land of the Amorites, אשר is in  
Gilead"

11.5.2 "And when [וַיְהִי \\\ נאשר] the Ammonites made  
war,"

11.28.2 "the message of Jephthah אשר he sent to him"

11.39.4 "according to the vow אשר he had made"

12.4.4 "for [כי] they had said, ' . . . ' "

12.5.3 "And when [ . . . כי וַיְהִי] any of the fugitives  
of Ephraim said, ' . . . ' "

The first two clauses (10.8.3-4), and the next (11.5.2), form part of the aperture sections of the episodes in which they occur. 10.8.3-4 may seem a bit too distant from the first clauses of the section to be considered "aperture," but examination of the flow of this episode indicates that the action of the section is contained in the Reported Speech (YHWH's message to Israel — 10.11.1-14.4 — is the peak moment of the episode); the clauses in question occur in the build-up to that action, rather than being part of it. 11.5.2 likewise is part of the build-up section of its episode.

The next two clauses occur at the end of their respective episodes: 11.28.2

---

15 This is not surprising at a logical level — subordinated clauses are by their very nature a removal from the main line of narration (etc.). It is not inconceivable that they serve, as do וַיְהִי clauses, for example, to alter the rhythm of the text to indicate a "high point" or a juncture in that text.



concludes the episode of Jephthah sending and receiving messages from the King of Ammon; 11.39.4 is part of the closure of the episodes about Jephthah's daughter.

The remaining two subordinated clauses bracket what appears to be the peak clause of the final [and post-peak] episode of the Jephthah story, which clause reads וַיִּלְכֹּד גִּלְעָד אֶת־מַעְבְּרוֹת הַיַּרְדֵּן לְאֶפְרַיִם "And Gilead took the fords of the Jordan against Ephraim" (12.5.1) The peak (in terms of the modern reader's interest) is usually considered to be the Ephraimites' dialect betraying their identity, but syntactically, the marked peak is the geographical detail.<sup>16</sup> It is understandable that our attention be drawn more vividly to the material which follows, with its fascinating revelation of contemporary Hebrew dialect phonology, than to this section — but the warfare and victory against Ephraim (in particular, the taking of the fords of the Jordan), may well have been the more significant detail for the contemporary reader.

Another reading of this would be to consider this sequence of clauses (12.4.1–5.3) a rather complicated initial boundary marker for this episode.

A case may be made for seeing this section as focusing on the detail of the pronunciation of שְׁבִלָה ; this is done more by default than by intention, it would seem, as it accomplished by discounting the significance of the taking of the fords. Most commentators write at length on the linguistic security procedures employed at the fords of the Jordan, but little mention is made of the actual taking of the fords, except to remark that the taking of the fords was a measure taken to cut off the retreating Ephraimites.<sup>17</sup> However, Boling's comments in particular are instructive:

The account of Ephraim's expedition against Jephthah sustains the implicit comparison of Jephthah and Gideon (7.24–8.3). Gideon's problem with the Ephraimites stemmed from his being a west bank judge who had become an east bank feudalist. Jephthah's problem with the Ephraimites no doubt stemmed from his east bank prominence and the consequent threat to Ephraim's prior west bank influence within the confederation. Given the widespread devastation and power vacuum which Abimelech created in a few

---

<sup>16</sup> 12.5.1.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Martin, J. D. *The Book of Judges*, p.148.

years at Shechem, it is not surprising that the center of early resistance to the Ammonite challenge shifted to Gilead, with tribal politics taking on a whole new configuration.<sup>18</sup>

This underlines the geographical importance of this victory, which is hinted at in the macro-syntax of the text. Webb writes:

The diplomacy of vv. 1-3 was superficially like that between Jephthah and the Ammonites, but with significant differences. The same applies to the report of the battle, only here the contrasts are more striking than the similarities. This time there is no mention of divine charisma, nor does Yahweh give the victory. Indeed, as far as we know Yahweh is not involved in any way. This battle is not presented as a holy war, but with wry humour as a rather squalid tit-for-tat feud. The Gileadites answer the taunt of the Ephraimites ('you are fugitives of Ephraim', 4e) by putting them to inglorious rout and thereby making them the *true* 'fugitives of Ephraim', (v. 5) — פִּלְטֵי אֶפְרַיִם again. The pronunciation test of vv. 5-6 adds a further sardonic touch to the scene. The tactic of seizing the fords of the Jordan (v. 5) previously used to such effect by Israelites against Moabites (3.27-30) and by Israelites against Midianites (7.24-28) is now used by Israelites against Israelites. The slaughter is prodigious (v. 6). The intertribal feud under Jephthah is part of a thematic development (progressive internal disintegration) which reaches its climax in the civil war involving the whole of Israel at the end of the book (chs 19-21).<sup>19</sup>

dL

I find both hypotheses convincing — on the one hand, that these off-line clauses bracket the peak clause; and on the other, that they merely introduce the whole episode — but not equally so. I favour the former, for the reason that, while both hypotheses are justifiable on the basis of plot structure, the former has the added merit of conforming more closely to expected macro-syntactic behaviour: we have seen that single main-line clauses flanked by off-line clauses tend to stand out as the peak clause of a unit.<sup>20</sup>

Reported speech also appears to serve a sort of text-level function. The developing and releasing of tension in a story, for example, can be described as a curve like that of a

---

18 Judges, pp. 213f.

19 The Book of Judges, p. 72.

20 For example, at Judges 2.18.4; we have seen similar features in other text-types as well, in our examinations of Leviticus and Exodus texts; see Chapter Four above.

camel's hump. At the aperture of an episode, the tension has not been introduced; at the closure, the tension has (in theory, at least) been resolved — thus, at both ends of the curve there is little tension. At the peak, the tension is at its highest.

The techniques for creating, maintaining, or resolving tension in a story are language-specific. A feature which is commonly used for increasing tension in the story would be out of place at the end of a story (and therefore might be placed there intentionally by the word-smith, or might be avoided altogether). So, those things which have a function in developing the story-line in a particular way are generally distributed according to a discernible plan.

In Classical Hebrew, Reported Speech tends to function as a tension-maintaining device. So, for example, in Judges 10.6ff., once the stage is set, and a certain amount of tension is created,<sup>21</sup> Israel and YHWH have a conversation.<sup>22</sup> The end result of this conversation is recorded in the seven main-line clauses which follow: Israel puts away its foreign gods, and YHWH's heart is turned again to them. But they are still under oppression — and the Reported Speech device is employed again to maintain the tension during the transition to the next episode: "Who is the man who will fight for us? He shall be our chief." This maintaining of tension is reiterated by the use of a question introducing a new topic — the quest for a leader.

Reported Speech serves this purpose of maintaining tension throughout the text.<sup>23</sup> It

---

21 The apostasy of Israel and their subjugation (10.6.1–9.2), though a formulaic theme in the book of Judges, nevertheless introduces a significant tension to the story-line.

22 Vv. 10–15; we will return shortly to look at the Reported Speech material of this section in greater depth.

23 We will look at this feature only in passing here, but will return to it again in our analysis of the book of Ruth. It is worth noting in passing, at this point, that the book of Jonah ends with Reported Speech, which seems to vitiate our hypothesis that it has a text-level function. Yet, if we hold to our idea that it maintains tension over transitional sections of text, we can propose that the unusual occurrence of Reported Speech at the end of Jonah actually serves to strengthen the purpose of the book — it leaves the reader hanging — the final resolution is, in a sense, the reader's/hearer's own responsibility. The point of the tale is hammered home all the more firmly by this lack of resolution of carried-over tension.

is used extensively to detail the several obstacles Jephthah must overcome in his life: the rejection by his people is highlighted in 11.1-10; the intractability of the King of Ammon in 11.12-27; the stark exigency of his vow to YHWH, and its outcome in 11.30-31 and 11.35-38; the aggression of the Ephraimites in 12.1-3 and 12.4-6. In most of these cases little is added which has not already been recounted on the main line of the story, or which will not be retold on the main line at a later point.

Conversation exhibits a tendency to bracket peak events.<sup>24</sup> We cannot yet afford to make a solid proposal about this, as our data offers too little evidence for such conclusions. We will, however, encounter the same concerns as we look at more data. The reader may find this a less suspect hypothesis after our examination of Ruth.

Before moving away from the text we have been examining, I would like to make another tentative observation: it would appear that "aperture" and "closure" sections of text have an affinity for unbroken chains of main-line clauses. The opening "Israel and YHWH" section (10.7.1-18.4 — 1.2., in the outline above) opens and closes with stretches of these main-line clauses, as do 11.1.1-3.4 (2.1.1. "Jephthah's Early Life"), 11.29.1-33.2 (2.1.4. "Jephthah's Offense"), and 12.1.1-6.7 (2.3. "Jephthah and the Ephraimites"). The story as a complete unit in itself is likewise opened and concluded with sequences of main-line clauses (10.6.1-3 and 12.7.1-3). In addition, other episodes conclude with stretches of main-line clauses although their apertures are handled differently: the subsections (embedded narratives) of "Jephthah and the Elders" (11.11.1-3), "Jephthah's Daughter Goes to the Hills" (11.38.3-5), and "Jephthah's Daughter" (11.39.2-3).

One section of text does not fit this pattern: 12.4.1-3. The sequence of clauses here is followed immediately by the two subordinated clauses (which may — or may not — mark the peak of this episode), and therefore is not likely to be episode-marginal. This entire section raises difficult questions, and I hesitate to draw any conclusions from it.

---

24 Cf. the treatment, above of the subordinated clauses 12.4.4 and 12.5.3, both of which are, in fact, Reported Speech sections.

2.2. Narrative History in Reported Speech.

In this section we will look at five samples of Reported Speech. For the sake of simplicity I have restricted the data we will examine to Narrative History texts in Reported Speech. The conclusions we reach in this brief section will be applied to other text-types in Reported Speech when we turn to the analysis of Ruth.

2.2.1. 12.2.1-3.6.

This text is actually the last, sequentially within Judges, of the five we will examine; it is, however, also the least difficult. The text is laid out, like most of the other sample texts, in a format which permits comparison between narration and Reported Speech, on the one hand, and between subordinated material and non-subordinated material, on the other. Columns A and B, on the right hand side of the page, contain narration — that is, material which is not Reported Speech; the left half of the page contains columns C and D: Reported Speech material. In each of these two halves, the right-hand column contains non-subordinated material, and the left, subordinated.<sup>25</sup>

12.2.1-3.6:

וַיֹּאמֶר יִפְתָּח אֲלֵיהֶם		12.2.1
אִישׁ רִיב הָיִיתִי אֲנִי וְעַמִּי וּבְנֵי־		2a
עַמּוֹן מֵאֵד		b
וְאֶזְעַק אֶתְכֶם		3
וְלֹא־הוֹשַׁעְתֶּם אוֹתִי מִיָּדָם		4
וְאֶרְאֶה		3.1
כִּי־אֵינְךָ [אֵין] מוֹשִׁיעַ		2
וְאֲשִׁימָה נַפְשִׁי בְּכַפִּי		3

25 Due to formatting restrictions of this volume, Column B is not fully independent of Column A, nor is Column D of Column C. This should, however, occasion no difficulties.

ואעברה אלי-בני עמון	4
ויתנם יהוה בידִי	5
ולמה עליתם אלי היום הזה	6a
להלחם בי	b

This text contains, apart from its speech formula,<sup>26</sup> 9 clauses:

1 Subord. cl. w/ אין	12.3.2
3 Suffix clauses	12.2.2 [with הִיָּה], 12.2.4 [negated]; 12.3.6
5 wc + Prefix clauses	

In examining Reported Speech sections, we must be on the lookout for clues as to why the text was spoken; this gives us our principal clues for analysing the "constituent structure" of the text. In this case, we may say that Jephthah is repudiating the right of the Ephraimites to challenge his behaviour — the final clause reads: **ולמה עליתם אלי היום הזה** **להלחם בי**, "Why then have you come up against me this day, to fight against me?" The earlier material is his justification for his choice not to request Ephraim's help; he accomplishes this by explaining the historical background of that decision. This constitutes an embedded Narrative History text.

---

26 The speech formulae are included, for the sake of completeness, with each of these sample texts. In an instance such as we have above, the text reported to have been spoken is an embedded direct object of the verb of speech; the direct object "slot" may be filled by anything from a single word or particle (e.g. 12.5.7-8 **וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא**) to a fully developed, complex text (e.g. 11.15.1-27.3 — 43 clauses — we will examine this in depth after dealing with the shorter texts). Therefore the above quotation from Judges is but a single, complex sentence. The same could be said of vast sections of the Pentateuch, where whole series of chapters are introduced by a single speech formula (thus making the series of chapters merely an embedded Direct Object of the speech formula); however, beyond acknowledgement that this is, indeed, the case, there is little to be gained from considering such sections as single clauses.

Internally, the Narrative History text is composed of two episodes: the first is a description of the circumstances in which Jephthah found himself (12.2.2-4); the second, his response to those circumstances (12.3.1-5). The boundary between the two episodes is marked by the negated clause (12.2.4), and the repetition of that material in the sentence **וַאֲרָאָה \\\ כִּי־אֵינְךָ מוֹשִׁיעַ** (12.3.1-2).

The most significant point here is that there is nothing out of the ordinary about this Narrative History text. It opens, as do many Narrative History texts, with the stage-setting device of a **הִיָּה** clause;<sup>27</sup> its boundaries are marked by the same sort of features as we have noted in other Narrative History texts. This begins to call into doubt the conclusions voiced by Niccacci on Judges 11 — that, somehow, "narrative discourse" has a different shape to it from narrative proper.<sup>28</sup>

#### 2.2.2. Judges 10.10.1-4.

We move now from the last, sequentially, of our sample texts, to the first. This one is brief, but still permits analysis:

##### 10.10.1-4:

	וַיִּזְעֲקוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	10.10.1a
	אֶל־יְהוָה לֵאמֹר	b
חֲטֵאוֹנוֹ לָךְ		2
וְכִי עֲזַבְנוּ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵינוּ		3
וְנַעֲבֹר אֶת־הַבְּעָלִים		4

---

27 We will see the same device employed in the book of Ruth on more than one occasion. Logic as well gives us a rationale for such a function and device: Do we not say that a story has to "start somewhere?" We expect a story to start with some kind of anchor into space and time — this kind of anchor is provided by such things as Verbless, and **הִיָּה**, clauses — and if such a setting slot were filled by an embedded text, we would expect it to be an Expository one, which has as its main line just such clauses.

28 see his Syntax, pp. 102ff.

The formulaic opening is one of a sequence of main-line, wc + Prefix forms, and requires no particular comment. The content of the Reported Speech is a text of three clauses.

Let us, for the record describe this unit in terms of its constituents; we have:

an Intransitive Clause:<sup>29</sup>

[DO] וַיִּזְעַק בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה לֵאמֹר

with the following construction:

PredComplement <— IndObj <— Subj <— Predicate,

where

Pred = Finite Intransitive Verb

Subj = NounPhr

IndObj = PrepPhr

PredComplement = InfPhr,

and

InfPhr = Infinitive + DirObj,

and, finally,

DirObj = Embedded Narrative History Text<sup>30</sup>

---

29 It may seem odd, at first blush, that we consider a verb of speech 'Intransitive', for we are arguing that the speech material is an embedded Direct Object of the speech verb; yet in this case the speech material is the Direct Object of **לֵאמֹר**, *not* of **וַיִּזְעַק**; the latter is the defining feature of the main clause, and its syntax defines it here as an Intransitive verb.

30 Longacre's apparatus for the identification of Paragraph-types (see his 1980 publication of the same name) would assist us to classify further the nature of this material, in particular, giving us a label for the specific type of paragraph which inhabits the "Direct Object" slot. Without going into details, this text is a Narrative Reason Paragraph, the "comment" section of which is filled by a Narrative Amplification Paragraph. In one sense, this is unfair to the reader: I should not offer analyses which I cannot take time to explain or justify, and I therefore fail, at this point, to meet the standard which I



10.10.3-4 is an embedded Narrative History text, filling the Direct Object slot in the speech formula. The second clause in this embedded text begins with a *wc + Prefix* form, but the first begins with 'נ, which must be clause-initial; so the verb form in this first clause (and therefore the clause-type) must accommodate it — this is the only reason we need to seek for the Suffix clause replacing a *wc + Prefix* clause.<sup>31</sup>

We have here, according to this analysis, a two-clause Narrative History text embedded in a subordinated clause; this clause is subordinated to another historical clause, whose precise text-type we can only guess at.<sup>32</sup>

### 2.2.3. 10.11.1-14.4:

YHWH's response to the speech we have just looked at comprises 12 clauses (including the speech formula). The speech formula is a transitive clause (this time without the Predicate Complement = Imperative), where the Direct Object slot is filled by an embedded text. The text itself is rather complex:

---

have set for myself — that of making the analysis (not only the end result, but also the process) understandable to the reader. However, without assigning some sort of value (in this case, a formal label) to the left-over bits, our analysis of this text is radically incomplete, and serves no purpose. I extend my apologies for taking this liberty — unfortunately the time- and space-constraints of this volume preclude our addressing this part of the methodology. I have had to content myself with directing the reader toward that portion of the theory and methodology which is the most immediately accessible, and the most relevant in light of recent trends and publications.

- 31 We are, of course, speaking of non-entities: there is no "*wc + Prefix* clause," and therefore, we can only posit that it "would otherwise have been there." It is clear, however, that if it "wanted" to be there, it nevertheless could not be there, due to the restrictions placed on the clause by the subordinating conjunction.
- 32 Possibilities for this clause include both the Narrative History text-type, and the Procedural/Lab Report text-type. I do not see any great merit in trying to determine definitively the text-type of 10.10.2 — it is a somewhat futile endeavour at this stage, as we know too little at this date about the specific features of the variety of historical (that is, "minus Projection") text-types, and our analysis of these in Reported Speech, is still in its infancy.

הלא ממצרים ומן-האמרי ומן-בני	2a <sup>33</sup>
עמון ומן-פלשתים	b
וצידונים ועמלק ומעון לחצו	12.1a
אתכם	b
ותצעקו אלי	2
ואושיעה אתכם מידם	3
ואתם עזבתם אותי	13.1
ותעבדו אלהים אחרים	2
לכן לא-אוסף להושיע אתכם	3
לכו	14.1
וועקו אל-האלהים	2
אשר בחרתם בם	3
המה יושיעו לכם בעת צרתכם	4

YHWH's response begins with a question (an elliptical one, at that!). Questions are features only of Reported Speech in Classical Hebrew narrative, and seem to play a part in the establishment of participant roles, etc. There seems to be an element of protest, scorn, condescension, and/or anger, to rhetorical questions in our data. They do not fit easily into text-types in Longacre's matrix; their purpose appears to be to establish the order of precedence and deference between speaker and addressee, as well as to highlight to the addressee information which he should take (or already has taken) into account.<sup>34</sup>

33 Where a single clause spans more than one line in these charted texts, the device "a," "b," and so on will be employed to so indicate.

34 This much I offer as a tentative explanation of the function of questions in Reported Speech. Each instance of rhetorical questions in the Hebrew Bible will need to be analysed in terms of its sociolinguistic setting (inferior —> superior, equal —> equal, superior —> inferior, to name but a few of the possible settings we might have to deal with in this sort of description), the degree of intensity of communication, the text-type of the material (if any) which follows the rhetorical question, the position of the rhetorical question in the Reported Speech, and many other issues. The nature of the

The purpose of our text is essentially that of exhortation:

לכו ׀ ׀ וזעקו אל־האלהים ׀ ׀ אשר בחרתם בם ׀ ׀ המה יִשִּׁיעוּ לָכֶם בַּעַת צָרַתְכֶם <sup>35</sup>

The reason for this exhortation is that YHWH will no longer deliver them (לֹכֵן לֹא־אֹסִיף) להוֹשִׁיעַ אֶתְכֶם, "Therefore I will deliver you no more" — 10.13.3); and in turn the reason for this state of affairs is that YHWH had delivered them but they turned away from him to serve other gods. This latter section is expounded by a Narrative History text of five clauses' length.

This Narrative History text is introduced by a Suffix clause (providing, along with the rhetorical question preceding it, a setting for the text which follows), and a second episode of it is signalled by another of the same. This is standard fare. Nothing is unusual here.

We can, therefore, divide this text into its constituent parts:

#### 10.11.1-14.4:

Speech Formula	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־בְּנֵי	11.1a
(a main-line NH cl.)	יִשְׂרָאֵל	b
NH text Aperture?	הֲלֹא מִמִּצְרַיִם וּמִן־הָאֱמֹרִי וּמִן־	2a
	בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן וּמִן־פְּלִשְׁתִּים <sup>36</sup>	b
NH text	וַיִּצְרֹנִים וְעַמְלֵק וּמַעֲזַן לַחֲצוֹ	12.1a

topic precludes us from examining it even briefly during this study, though we are impoverished for our lack of understanding of its functions and purposes. In short, this requires nothing less than a full study in its own right.

<sup>35</sup> "Go // Cry to the gods // whom you have chosen // Let them deliver you in the time of your distress."

<sup>36</sup> This section of text poses textual difficulties, but they need not delay us here; we have already stated our intention to bypass rhetorical questions in the current study.

	אתכם	b
	ותצעקו אלי	2
	ואושיעה אתכם מידם	3
	ואתם עזבתם אותי	13.1
	ותעבדו אלהים אחרים	2
Narr. Prophecy text	לכן לא-אוסוף להושיע אתכם	3
Hortatory text	לכו	14.1
	וזעקו אל-האלהים	2
	אשר בחרתם בם	3
	המה יושיעו לכם בעת צרתכם	4

We have not so far looked at Hortatory text-types — for the time being, they require little discussion, for two reasons: 1) their simplest features are relatively obvious — they are composed of cohortatives, imperatives, and jussives, on the main line, with Prefix forms running close to the main line; their off-line clauses would require greater attention, but as we are not looking yet at any longer texts, this can be postponed; and 2) this text-type is considerably influenced and shaped by the sort of sociolinguistic factors which we mentioned above in reference to rhetorical questions; deference to one of higher rank, for example, precludes the use of command-forms, and such mitigation can have a variety of nuances.<sup>37</sup> This will be yet another area which we must leave relatively unexplored, although where the data require us to give this issue our attention, we will do so. Our lack of in-depth attention to this text-type will not seriously hinder us, however; we will rely on

---

37 Longacre writes, "The presence of mitigation (making a command more mollified and socially acceptable) and deference (e.g., of commoner to monarch) make the analysis of hortatory discourse the more difficult" (*Joseph*, pp. xif.); he devotes 21 densely reasoned pages to an examination of this concern (Chapter Five, pp 119-140). It is well beyond the limits of this study to try to "unpack" and render that material here. We will content ourselves with the occasional elucidation from other data.

Longacre's "Verb Rank Cline" for this text-type<sup>38</sup> to provide us with working hypotheses, and will deal only cursorily with questions of mitigation.

#### 2.2.4. 11.7.1-5.

This short text also contains an embedded Narrative History text.

#### 11.7.1-5.

11.7.1 וַיֹּאמֶר יִפְתָּח לִוְקֹנִי גִלְעָד

הֲלֹא אַתֶּם שְׁנֵאתֶם אוֹתִי	2
וּתְגַרְשׁוּנִי מִבֵּית אֲבִי	3
וּמִדּוֹעַ בְּאַתֶּם אֵלַי עַתָּה	4
כִּאֲשֶׁר צָר לָכֶם	5

Its introductory formula is unexceptional and requires no further attention. The opening clause is again a rhetorical question about historical fact; it is followed by a *wc* + Prefix clause. Another rhetorical question with a subordinated clause concludes the Reported Speech.

I have found it helpful to make questions into indicative statements, as a step toward an evaluation of their text-type affinities; in this case, the affinity is clear: "did you not hate me?" becomes "you hated me." The fact that a subject pronoun occurs in 11.7.2, but not in 11.7.3, while the person and number of the verb does not vary, implies that we should accept these two clauses as being parts of the same unit. The same may be true of 11.7.4-5, "And why have you come to me now, when trouble [is] upon you?" This could be rendered as an indicative statement, "and you have come to me . . .," but I am less confident of this. Yes, it is likewise discussing historical fact; but it is asking for a reason. This makes it more difficult to label. In the long run, I find it safer simply to identify what is identifiable, and acknowledge the rest as difficult.

---

38 We will do the same for the Narrative Prophecy text-type (which Longacre calls Predictive).

Thus, I consider 11.7.2 to be a Narrative History clause, turned inside out to express annoyance, or superiority, or some other such nuance. It serves the purpose of introducing the historical setting (and first event) of a brief Narrative History text.

#### 2.2.5. 11.15.1-27.3:

This text-sample contains 43 clauses (with a short and unexceptional introductory speech formula); Niccacci has examined this in Syntax, and makes a number of observations — we will take exception to some of these, and concur with others.

First, however, we will examine the data ourselves; later, we will return to compare our findings with Niccacci's.

#### 11.15.1-27.3:

וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ	11.15.1
כֹּה אָמַר יִפְתָּח	2
לֹא־לָקַח יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־אֲרִיץ מוֹאָב וְאֶת־	3a
אֲרִיץ בְּנֵי אֲמוֹן	b
כִּי בַעֲלוֹתָם מִמִּצְרַיִם	16.1
וַיֵּלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּמִּדְבָּר עַד־יַם־סוּף	2
וַיָּבֹא קָדְשָׁה	3
וַיִּשְׁלַח יִשְׂרָאֵל מַלְאָכִים אֶל־מֶלֶךְ	17.1a
אֲדוֹם לֵאמֹר	b
אֶעֱבְרָה־נָּא בָאֲרֶצְךָ	2
וְלֹא שָׁמַע מֶלֶךְ אֲדוֹם	3
וְגַם אֶל־מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב שָׁלַח	4
וְלֹא אָבָה	5
וַיֵּשֶׁב יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּקִדְשׁ	6
וַיֵּלֶךְ בַּמִּדְבָּר	18.1
וַיִּסַּב אֶת־אֲרִיץ אֲדוֹם וְאֶת־אֲרִיץ	2a
מוֹאָב	b
וַיָּבֹא מִמּוֹרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ לְאֲרִיץ מוֹאָב	3

ויחנן בעבר ארנון	4
ולא־באו בגבול מואב	5
כי ארנון גבול מואב	6
וישלח ישראל מלאכים אל־	19.1a
סיחון מלך־האמרי מלך חשבון	b
ויאמר לו ישראל	2
נעברה־נא בארצך ער־מקומי	3
ולא־האמין סיחון את־ישראל	20.1a
עבר בגבולו	b
ויאסף סיחון את־כל־עמו	2
ויחננו ביהצח	3
וילחם עם־ישראל	4
ויתן יהוה אלהי־ישראל את־	21.1a
סיחון ואת־כל־עמו ביד	b
ישראל	c
ויכנס	2
ויירש ישראל את כל־ארץ	3a
האמרי יושב הארץ ההיא	b
ויירשו את כל־גבול האמרי	22.1a
מארנון ועד־היבק ומן־המדבר	b
ועתה יהוה אלהי ישראל הוריש את־	23.1a
האמרי מפני עמו ישראל	b
ואתה תירשנו	2
הלא +++++ תירש	24.1
+++ את אשר יורישך כמוש	2a
אלהיך אותו +++	b
+++++ אותו נירש	3
+++ ואת כל־אשר הוריש יהוה	4a
אלהינו מפנינו +++	b
ועתה הטוב טוב אתה מבלק בן־צפור	25.1a
מלך מואב	b

הרוב רב עם־ישראל	2
אם־נלחם נלחם בם	3
בשבת ישראל בחשבון ובבנותיה	26.1a
ובערעור ובבנותיה ובכל־ערים	b
+++++ שלש מאות שנה	c
+++ אשר ידי ארנן +++	2
ומדוע לא־הצלתם בעת ההיא	3
ואנכי לא־חטאתי לך	27.1
ואתה עשה אתי רעה להלחם בי	2
ישפט יהוה השפט היום בין בני	3a
ישראל ובין בני עמון	b

This unit constitutes Jephthah's final message to the King of Ammon, who had ordered Jephthah's people to restore his land to him, accusing them of having taken it (unjustly, it would seem), on their coming up from Egypt.<sup>39</sup> Jephthah responds in the negative. After the Narrative History speech formula, Jephthah's speech employs another speech formula (a formal one — 11.15.2), and is followed by a denial of the accusation (11.15.3) and a justification for that denial (a Narrative History text, embedded within a subordinated clause — 11.16.1–22.1); this denial and justification is followed by a summary of the historical justification, and a series of questions and statements on the subject of "take what your god has given you." It concludes with a jussive: **יִשְׁפֹּט יְהוָה הַשֹּׁפֵט הַיּוֹם בֵּין בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבֵין בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן**, "Let YHWH, the Judge, judge this day between the Israelites and the Ammonites" (11.27.3).<sup>40</sup>

There are two and only two negated indicative clauses (by which I mean not questions) in this unit, and they say basically the same thing:

<sup>39</sup> 11.13.1–4

<sup>40</sup> This section combines all the difficulties of rhetorical questioning, with those of mitigated Exhortation; in short, the body of the second section is awkward. We can analyse the bracketing of this section with the opening of the speech, but any actual identification of the text-type(s)



לֹא־לָקַח יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־אֶרֶץ מוֹאָב וְאֶת־אֶרֶץ בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן  
land of Moab and the land of the Ammonites" (11.15.3)

וְאֵנִי לֹא־חָטָאתִי לָךְ, "I have not sinned against you" (11.27.1)

These clauses form the aperture and closure of the speech unit; the second of the two initiates a closure paragraph, composed of 3 clauses (neg'd Suffix cl., Verbless clause with Ptc., and Jussive clause).

The shift from the earlier section to the later one is clearly marked: not only is there a shift from wc + Prefix forms to Prefix forms, there is a shift to a reliance on the verb root **יִרַשׁ**, which occurs in this next section six times (the only verb used for six clauses).<sup>41</sup> Although other features of the second section of this text could be noted here, my real interest in this passage — for this study — is the first, Narrative History, section of the Reported Speech material (11.16.1–22.1).<sup>42</sup>

The text commences with a quote from the King's message to Jephthah: **בְּעִלּוֹתוֹ** **מִמִּצְרַיִם**, "in his coming up from Egypt" (11.13.3), becomes **בְּעִלּוֹתָם מִמִּצְרַיִם**, "in their coming up from Egypt" (11.16.1). It is followed by 17 wc + Prefix clauses, which are from time to time interrupted by eight off-line, subordinated, or Reported Speech clauses. These eight clauses occur in three groups: 11.17.2–17.5; 11.18.5–6; and 11.19.3–4.

The middle group of these three (11.18.5–6 — a neg'd Suffix clause, and a subordinated Verbless clause) marks a text division; this division is reflected by similar events

---

of the second section would be, at best, provisional.

41 This latter feature, combined with a shift from, primarily, Prefix forms, to Verbless clauses and Suffix forms, leads me to suspect a subdivision at 11.25.1. This is conjecture, however (in the root sense of the word), and cannot be defended any further at this point.

42 It must be said that I am inclined to see 11.23.1 — **וְעַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוֹרִישׁ . . .** — as hinge which functions both to conclude the first section and to introduce the second, but we will deal with it here as extraneous to the embedded Narrative History text, as it is clearly not to be considered subordinated under 11.16.2's **בִּי**, as is the Narrative History text.

to what occurred in the first Narrative History episode.<sup>43</sup> This gives us two episodes:

11.16.1-18.6 — 15 clauses; and 11.19.1-22.1 — 11 clauses.

The other two groups of off-line clauses each contain a Reported Speech "request for right of passage" to a king, followed by negated Suffix clause(s). I identify these as the syntactically marked peaks of the two Narrative History episodes.

### 3. The Book of Ruth.

#### 3.1. Basic facts and statistics.

The boundaries of this text are clearly marked. Aside from the obvious ones — the beginning and end of a self-contained book — there are clear macro-syntactic markers. The opening boundary is marked by two וִידי clauses,<sup>44</sup> the terminal one, by two verbless clauses and a genealogical appendix (an embedded text of a different type).<sup>45</sup>

The book of Ruth contains 393 clauses, by my accounting; nine of these form the genealogy at the end of the book. For the percentages given in our discussion, however, I omit these genealogical clauses, giving a working total of 384 clauses.<sup>46</sup> The distribution of these clauses in the four columns is as follows:

---

43 The first section commences with Israel's arrival at the borders of Edom, and their sending a request to Edom's king; the second takes place at the borders of the Amorites, and commences with their sending a request to their king.

44 וִידי רַעַב, "In the days when the judges were judging" (1.1.1), and וִידי שָׁפַט הַשְּׁפָטִים בָּאָרֶץ, "there was a famine in the land" (1.1.2).

45 4.17.4-22.2.

46 For some statistical purposes, the genealogical clauses would weight the proportions too much in one direction or another; for example, the ratio of main-line clauses to off-line clauses in the main Narrative History would look significantly different if these clauses were allowed to influence it (for example, if we figure the percentage of Suffix forms in the main Narrative History (non-subordinated, non-Reported Speech clauses) the difference is noticable (4%, calculated with the lesser number; 11%, when calculated with the greater number).

D	C	B	A
---	---	---	---
(Subordinated Rep'd Speech)	(Un-subordinated Rep'd Speech)	(Subordinated Narration)	(Un-subordinated Narration)
---	---	---	---
77 clauses (20%)	139 clauses (36%)	14 clauses (4%)	154 clauses (40%) <sup>47</sup>
Rep'd Speech		Narration	
---		---	
216 clauses (56%)		168 clauses (44%)	

with a total of 384 clauses.

We will first examine the non-Reported Speech material. After we have commented on the structure and constituents of that portion of the text, we will analyse the Reported Speech sections.

### 3.2. Ruth — the non-Reported Speech text.

We will be examining here the interplay between main-line clauses (by which I mean "main-line for the Narrative History text-type," for which we propose the wc + Prefix clause), off-line clauses, subordinated clauses, and Reported Speech sections.<sup>48</sup> As we have come to expect, these interruptions of the main line are not spread haphazardly through the text, but function as indicators of episode divisions, and peak markers.

Where concentrations of off-line clauses occur, the significance of the break, or of the peak event, is the greater. There are six places in the text where concentrations of more than one off-line clause occur (1.1.1-2; 1.2.1-3; 1.4.2-3; 1.22.2-2.1.2 [4 clauses]; 4.7.1-4; and

---

<sup>47</sup> Percentages are given in round figures.

<sup>48</sup> These last will be dealt with as individual units under §§3.3ff.; here they will be examined only as deviations from the main line of the narration.

4.17.4–18.1 [2 clauses]). If we allow for the possibility that subordination may have some macro-syntactic significance, 3 more clause-groups present themselves (2.3.4–2.4.1 [2 clauses]; 2.17.3–4; and 4.1.3–4); in addition, several of the features we are looking at can be found separated by only one or two main-line clauses (e.g. 3.6.1 and 3.6.4)<sup>49</sup>

### 3.2.1. 1.1.1–5.2.

We have already spoken briefly about the initial and terminal boundaries of our text; we now return to look more closely at the initial boundary. As we said above, there can be no question of this not being the initial boundary; however, there is much yet to be said on the nature of this boundary, and its extent.

The text opens with two וַיִּי clauses (1.1.1–1.1.2). Two וַיִּי clauses in succession is in itself very unusual. One search of the Hebrew Bible using a CD-ROM data-base indicated 918 occurrences of וַיִּי.<sup>50</sup> I found, among these 918, only 17 pairs of וַיִּי clauses in succession (e.g., Job 1.3 and Ex 12.41), and two triplets (Gen 39.2 and Jos 17.1–2). This gives a percentage of less than 4%.<sup>51</sup> This is a very rare feature.

Some of these occurrences are clearly paragraph-initial if not episode-initial (e.g. Ruth 1.1, Gen 39.2, and Job 1.3); others may either be episode-initial, or they may require to be divided, thus marking one boundary each (initial/terminal). Gen 27.30 is an example of a "maybe" — this pair may initiate the section wherein Esau seeks a blessing from Isaac (which Isaac has just "stolen"), or one of the two וַיִּי clauses may serve to conclude the previous section, while the second clause opens the following section.<sup>52</sup>

---

49 Rather than list these occurrences here in some kind of indecipherable short-hand form, I will identify them as we come upon them in the text.

50 I make no claim to absolute accuracy with these figures, but I estimate the margin of error to be no greater than 1–2%.

51 There are six וַיִּי pairs in Genesis 1 — the formulaic . . . וַיִּי-בִקֵּר יוֹם — which I have excluded from my examination, rightly or wrongly; if these are added into the count, the percentage is raised to just over 4%.

52 This function appeared fairly frequently among the וַיִּי pairs which were separated by one or two clauses not containing וַיִּי (e.g., Gen 39.10–11), and may be normative, or at least common, for contiguous pairs as well.

In any case, the Ruth passage is unquestionably text-initial, and cannot be a bridging mechanism, as is suspected of other occurrences of multiple וַיִּי clauses.<sup>53</sup>

And yet, not only do we have two וַיִּי clauses here, but they are also separated from six other off-line clauses by only four main-line clauses. 1.6.1 introduces the journey back to Bethlehem, and begins a new section; we can extend this opening section to the end of verse five;<sup>54</sup> this gives us an opening section of 16 clauses. The ratio of main-line clauses to off-line clauses in "Column A" of this opening section of Ruth is 1 : 1 — the ratio for the remainder of the text is roughly 15 : 2. This opening section clearly does not reflect the standard pattern of clause distribution for Narrative History.

Yet, on a larger scale, this is fairly normal; story-telling usually starts from nothing, and the most basic information must be given at the outset, in order that the hearer/reader can make sense of the text. All but the very shortest of our sample texts have had a sort of "setting the stage" section at their beginning.<sup>55</sup>

### 3.2.2. 1.6.1-19.1.

The next section — the return to Bethlehem — begins with four main-line clauses, interspersed by three subordinated clauses (1.6.1-7.4), and it is followed by a sequence of 58 clauses, broken in three places by 31 clauses of Reported Speech, and broken again by an off-line clause (1.14.5), and by one subordinated clause (1.18.2).

A more detailed look shows the introductory section (1.6.1-7.4) to be followed by the first Reported Speech (Naomi advising her daughters-in-law to return to their own culture

---

53 I did find, however, one other feature of these clauses which is of interest: in several of the clause pairs I have examined, the first provides general background information, which the second narrows into a specific context (often with a temporal function; cf. I Kgs 17.12) — these two clauses are a text-book case of this pattern. How frequently this is the case, however, I cannot yet say. This feature, however, strengthens the case for reading these as inseparable pairs.

54 1.5.2 — the conclusion of the "death" motif, the first motif of the story.

55 Ju 2.4.1: . . . וַיְהִי כִּדְבַר מְלֶאכֶּי יְהוָה; Lev 14.2.1: . . . וְזֹאת תְּהִיָּה תוֹרָה; etc.; the Jephthah story, on the other hand, does not have a syntactically marked "stage," but nevertheless begins with one — see commentary above on Judges 10.6.1-5.

and families, 1.8.1-9.2). Three more main-line clauses follow this (the reaction of the daughters-in-law, 1.9.3-5), and two speech sections (their intention to accompany Naomi, 1.10.1-3, and Naomi's response, 1.11.1-13.6). Another set of four<sup>56</sup> main-line clauses (Orpah's decision to leave Naomi, 1.14.1-4 [or 1.14.1-3]) comes to an end with a Suffix clause: **וְרוּת בָּהּ רִבְקָה**, "and [but] Ruth clung to her" (1.14.5). This off-line clause marks the peak, in my opinion, of this first episode; either the clause itself is the peak, or it signals that the following interchange between Naomi and Ruth (two speech sections, 1.15.1-3, Naomi reiterating her advice that Ruth leave her, and Ruth's refusal, 1.16.1-17.6) is the peak — this latter is the more likely, I believe.<sup>57</sup> The remainder of the episode contains three main-line clauses, broken by one subordinated clause, which describe the journey itself (1.18.1-19.1, 1.18.2 being the subordinated clause).

The string of main-line clauses, in addition to being interrupted by Reported Speech and a subordinated clause, is broken by a second off-line clause. The first off-line clause, the peak-marking 1.14.5, occurred within the text; the second occurs as the initial boundary of the following section (1.19.2).<sup>58</sup>

Thus the first episode is bounded, initially and terminally, by strings of main-line clauses interrupted by subordination, initially by a clear topic shift, and terminally by the off-line clause marking the initial boundary of the following section. The peak is marked by a Suffix clause.

### 3.2.3. 1.19.2-22.3.

This episode, dealing with the arrival of the two women in Bethlehem, begins with the aforementioned off-line clause: **וַיָּדְוּ כְּבָאֵנָה בֵּית לָחֶם**, "As they entered Bethlehem,"

---

56 Or three, if one does not accept the reintroduction from the LXX of 1.14.4 — **וַתֵּשֶׁב אֶל-עֲמָה** — whose omission by haplography is easily explained on the basis of 14.3 — **וַתֵּשֶׁק עֲרֶפָה לַחֲמוּתָהּ** — and whose sense and syntax fit easily into the text.

57 I have not come across any obvious Narrative History peaks encoded as off-line clauses; these latter generally serve to *point to* something else.

58 See below.

1.19.2. This is a short episode; after the initial clause, there are one main-line clause (1.19.3), two speech sections (1.19.4-5, and 1.20.1-21.5 — Naomi's interchange with the women of Bethlehem<sup>59</sup>), another, single main-line clause, and the terminal boundary. The terminal boundary is marked by two off-line clauses (a verbless clause [1.22.2], and a Suffix clause [1.22.3]). The final three clauses summarize the return to Bethlehem, and the last, in addition, points forward toward the next section by indicating that they returned "at the beginning of the barley harvest."

#### 3.2.4. 2.1.1-17.3.

This next section of the text likewise has a syntactically marked boundary of two clauses, which, when taken alongside the previous two clauses, form one of the most significant "hinges" in the story. No other boundary in Ruth (apart from the opening of the book as a whole) is marked by so many off-line clauses.

These boundary clauses introduce the other main participant of the story, Boaz. The episode is composed of 15 main-line clauses, with 12 Reported Speech sections (in five groups), two subordinated clauses, and one off-line clause.

This episode contains a great deal of Reported Speech material, maintaining the tension created in the main-line clauses (and, of course, contributing to it through the speech contents themselves) through this section and into the next. This gets underway immediately, with two short speech sections on the subject of Ruth going out to glean (2.2.1-4, and 2.2.6-5); it is followed by a section of non-Speech clauses reporting her finding a place to glean. Here, we have four main-line clauses (2.3.1-4), followed by a subordinated clause (2.3.5), which in turn is followed by a Suffix clause beginning with *והנה* (2.4.1). This *והנה* + Suffix

---

59 The function of this section of Reported Speech is to carry the tension of the "widowhood" (with all its attendant insecurities in that culture) section into the following section, where Ruth meets Boaz — this is no joyous homecoming, but a retreat toward at least marginal security.



clause identifies the peak of this episode.<sup>60</sup>

It is followed by three speech sections (2.4.2-3, 2.4.4-5, and 2.5.1-2), one main-line clause (2.5.3), and two more, longish speech sections (2.6.2-7.6, and 2.8.1-9.8) — these cover Boaz' exchange of greetings with his workers, his question to his foreman about Ruth, the foreman's response, and Boaz' first words to Ruth. Ruth's response contains two main-line clauses and one speech (2.10.1-2, and 2.10.3-5).

Boaz addresses himself again to Ruth (one main-line clause [2.11.1] and a Reported Speech section [2.11.2-12.3]); this is followed by two more speech sections (Ruth's gratitude to Boaz [2.13.1-4], and Boaz' invitation to the meal [2.14.1-4]). A series of six main-line clauses (2.14.5-15.1) describes Ruth's meal.

The episode comes to an end with a speech section (Boaz' instructions to his young men, 2.15.2-16.4), two main-line clauses and a single subordinated clause (2.17.1-2, and 2.17.3 — which describe Ruth's gleaning). The terminal boundary is marked by a **וַיְדִי** clause,<sup>61</sup> indicating the measure of her gleaning **וַיְדִי כִּאִפֶּה שְׁעָרִים**, "And there was about an ephah of barley" (2.17.4).

### 3.2.5. 2.17.4-3.7.7.

The initial boundary of this episode is not syntactically marked, but rather is identifiable on the basis of the previous clause, and on the basis of the topic shift from "gleaning" to "returning home." The episode contains 17 main-line clauses, eight speech

---

60 This claim is likely to be met with some scepticism. However, the clause marking the peak is not to be equated with the peak itself (the meeting of Boaz and Ruth), which follows, and is expounded in conversation. That this comes so early in the episode is no less understandable: this is a peak without complete resolution, and the tension thereof is carried through the remainder of the story, and is built upon, until the main peak of the episode is reached (the agreement at the city gate between Boaz and the "go'el").

61 A cursory glance at Judges 1-3, 6-8, and the Jephthah story, however — some 25 occurrences — shows an overwhelming preference for episode initial distribution. This is no guarantee that **וַיְדִי** must occur as an episode-initial marker, as opposed to an episode-terminal marker, but it does indicate a very strong predisposition toward this function.



sections (in three blocks), and four subordinated clauses.

The first seven clauses contain five main-line clauses, broken by two subordinated clauses; these describe Ruth's return home to her mother-in-law. Naomi questions her about her day (Reported Speech — 2.19.1-4); Ruth's response is introduced by a single main-line clause, with a single subordinated clause (2.19.5-6), then the speech formula; the five speech sections which follow (2.19.7-9; 2.20.1-3; 2.20.4-6; 2.21.1-7; and 2.22.1-4) recount Ruth's day, and Naomi's amazement. Then follow two main-line clauses describing Ruth's gleanings throughout the harvest, and then two speech sections where Naomi instructs Ruth on the right way to approach Boaz (2.23.1-2; 3.1.1-4.8; and 3.5.1-3).

3.6.1-7.8 contain nine main-line clauses, and one subordinated clause, and describe Ruth's actions in fulfilling her mother-in-law's instructions. The end of the episode is marked once again by the following episode-initial **וַיִּ** clause.

There appears to be no syntactic marking of the peak in this episode, unless we consider the repeated speech formula without change of speaker, in 2.20.4, to be performing this function.<sup>62</sup> Some would make an episode division at 3.1.1, due to the semantic content, and due to the fact that the preceding two verses summarize an elapsed period of time. I am not averse to this; the preponderant majority of texts which I have so far examined mark episode boundaries, etc., syntactically, but not all. It must be pointed out, however, that the lack of syntactic marking does indicate that the break, if any, is fairly understated.

### 3.2.6. 3.8.1-3.18.6.

This episode, introduced by another **וַיִּ** clause, deals with the night-scene at the threshing floor, and Ruth's return afterward to her mother-in-law. After the opening, temporal, clause, we find two main-line clauses, then a verbless clause with a participle,

---

<sup>62</sup> This would appear to be the logical peak of the episode, as well.

introduced by וְהִנֵּה. This, I would say, marks the peak event<sup>63</sup> of the episode.

This is followed by a conversation between Ruth and Boaz (three sections: 3.9.1-2; 3.9.3-6; and 3.10.1-13.9), concerning her redemption; this is followed by two main-line clauses and a subordinated clause, and two Reported Speech instructions to Ruth about her return home (3.14.1-2; 3.14.3; and 3.14.4-15.4, both by Boaz). This is followed by Ruth's return, and report, to Naomi (five main-line clauses [3.15.5-16.1], and three speech sections, the middle one of which is introduced with a main-line clause + subordinated clause + speech formula [3.16.2-3; 3.17.1-4; and 3.18.1-6]). The terminal boundary is once again indicated by the initial-boundary-marking devices of the next episode.

### 3.2.7. 4.1.1-4.13.1.

The initial boundary here is marked by a Suffix clause. The episode contains seven main-line clauses, interrupted by nine Reported Speech sections, five off-line clauses, and two subordinated clauses.

The Suffix clause is followed by a single main-line clause (4.1.2), then a verbless clause with participle (which is introduced by וְהִנֵּה — 4.1.3), a subordinated clause (4.1.4), and a speech section (4.1.5-7). The action continues with three main-line clauses, a speech section, and another main-line clause (4.1.8-2.1; 4.2.2-3; and 4.2.4). The participants are all now present at the city gate: Boaz, the "go'el," and the ten elders of the city.

I do not find it surprising that a clause which I have consistently considered to be a peak-marking device (the וְהִנֵּה + ptc, verbless clause — 4.1.3) is found so early in this episode. Firstly, we have seen it used fairly early on other occasions (see commentary above); and secondly, this is the Peak Episode of the entire story. If we propose that this clause-type serves to mark the *opening of the peak scene*, then we can find ample logic for its use where

---

63 Rather, it marks the start of the peak event.

we have found it.<sup>64</sup> Here, there is little need to preface the peak event of this scene with information — all the necessary details have already surfaced in the earlier parts of the story.

Then follow four Reported Speech sections alternating between Boaz and the "go'el," fine-tuning the details of the redemption of Naomi, and of Ruth (4.3.1-4.10; 4.4.11-12; 4.5.1-2; and 4.6.1-6). The next four clauses are intriguing: a verbless clause (4.7.1); two verb-initial Suffix clauses (4.7.2-3); and another verbless clause (4.7.4, a resumé of the first).<sup>65</sup> These clauses occur at the precise instant where Boaz will receive the right of redemption.

The mechanisms of peak-marking devices are language specific, as we have noted before. The language may have a preference for saturating the text with verbs (thus increasing the speed of the events), or with adverbials (thus increasing the detail of the events); it may work to slow down the forward march of events, giving a kind of "slow-motion" effect to the text. Classical Hebrew appears to have a preference for the latter. Texts marked clearly for peak events show the tendency to interrupt the flow of events, just at the point where the tension is at its peak. It is not surprising to me, therefore, that we find this set of four clauses where we do.

The question of its integrity in the text, could be argued either direction, in my opinion, without impact on our assessment of this section's macro-syntactic function. If it is intrusive, it was added in such a way as to serve the purposes of the text admirably well; if it is part of the original story, its contribution is the same. The question will have to be addressed without reference to its having "broken up the flow of the text," for that is what it would have been intended to do, whether as an original part, or as an added part, of the text.

The speech of the "go'el" resumes (4.8.1-2), and he performs the gesture mentioned in verse 7 (4.8.3). The story continues with two speech sections (Boaz addresses the witnesses

---

64 In 2.4.1, it begins the scene of Ruth's first encounter with Boaz. In 3.8.1, it begins the scene of Ruth's second [recorded] encounter with Boaz. Both of these scenes are the keys to the building up toward this, the final, key scene.

65 On the question of whether or not the vocabulary in this verse indicates a late origin, see Campbell, p. 148. On the question of whether or not this verse is intrusive — a later addition which does not blend well into the surrounding material — see my own notes below.

[4.9.1–10.3], and the witnesses respond [4.11.1–12.3]); the latter of these two is introduced by a speech formula containing a subordinated clause. The episode concludes with a single, main-line clause (ויקח בעז את־רוּת, "And Boaz took Ruth" [4.13.1]), and a וַתֵּהְיֶה clause ("and she became his wife" [4.13.2]).

### 3.2.8. 4.13.2–17.4.

What follows now in the text is a pair of what may be called "post-peak episodes"<sup>66</sup> (4.13.2–16.2, and 4.16.3–17.4), whose role is to unravel the tension of the story; they perform the function of a *dénouement*. The first has no marked initial boundary, but is identifiable on the basis of the preceding וַתֵּהְיֶה clause, and on the basis of a topic-shift, from the marriage, to the marriage bed. The second follows another וַתֵּהְיֶה clause (terminating the first alleged post-peak episode), in which Naomi becomes nurse to her grandson. While both do contain speech sections, they contain a lesser proportion to narrative than we have seen in the major episodes of the story; nor is this surprising if we maintain our hypothesis that conversational material in Hebrew is intended to maintain or strengthen tension in the text — the opposite effect of what is desired here.

In the first of these alleged episodes, we find three main-line clauses, then a speech of blessing on Naomi by the townswomen; this is followed by two main-line clauses, in which Naomi takes up the child (4.13.2; 4.13.3–5; 4.14.1–15.4; and 4.16.1–2), and is concluded by the "Naomi as nurse" וַתֵּהְיֶה clause (4.16.3).

The second of these contains a speech section, and another main-line clause, and concludes with a verbless clause (4.17.1–2; 4.17.3; and 4.17.4 — these acclaim Naomi, name the child, and indicate his significance in history).

We must ask the question, however, whether וַתֵּהְיֶה clauses which translate into English as "become" clauses have different macro-syntactic significance. I have strong doubts about this, for the real question seems to have more to do with the semantic domains of the

---

<sup>66</sup> We need to examine the option that these are not actually separate episodes; this question will be addressed in depth after the present hypothesis has been commented on.

English words "be" and "become" than with the function of the Hebrew clause-type(s).

Nevertheless, the question presents itself, and the more so here because the semantic content of the passages in which they are found does not admit altogether readily to their identification as episode-boundary features. In 4.13.1-3 (וַיִּקַּח בְּעוֹ אֶת־רוּת // וַתְּהִי־לָהּ // וַיָּבֹא אֵלֶיהָ), for example, the clauses all deal with the same subject, and flow on from one to another without looking much like a break of any sort.

And in 4.16.1-17.1 (וַתִּקַּח נָעֳמִי אֶת־יֶחֱזֵקִי // וַתִּשְׁתָּחֶזְקֶהּ בְּחִיקָהּ // וַתְּהִי־לָהּ לְאִמָּנָה // וַתִּקְרָאנָהּ), "And Naomi took the child, and laid him in her lap, and became to him a nurse; and the neighbour women gave him a name, saying, . . . ), the same thing is the case, although the case becomes stronger here for assigning the וַתְּהִי clause the role of episode-terminal boundary indicator.

### 3.2.9 4.18.1-22.2.

The remaining ten clauses do not require much comment. They conclude the book, as is obvious; they are not of what we now recognize as the Narrative History text-type. They are introduced by a single verbless clause (4.18.1), which also ties the section (loosely) to the preceding material (by mention of the name 'Perez', also found in 4.12.1).

### 3.3. Ruth — the Reported Speech material.

In this section, I will examine the individual texts embedded, as Reported Speech, into other clauses. I cannot hope to do this justice — each text deserves, if not requires, the same kind of attention we have paid to the other portions of Ruth examined above, and both time and space impose rather strict demands. Therefore the scope of the following analyses will be restricted to 1) identification of text-type(s) involved in each text, and 2) comment on internal structure, where this is possible without undue slowing of our momentum through the text.

We will progress through Ruth from start to finish,<sup>67</sup> and will comment on every speech unit, even if only to remark on why we cannot pursue analysis of it at this point. Those sections where analysis is limited by the size of the text, or where the text admits no description without a far greater commitment of energy, will be relegated to footnotes.<sup>68</sup> I will not hesitate in this section to be succinct in, and to forego justification of, my analyses of these texts, once the reader has had occasion to understand my approach to the data.

In each case, clause counts of the texts will include the speech formula.

### 3.3.1. 1.8.1-9.2.

Naomi's advice to her daughters-in-law to return to their homes. This is a text of seven clauses:

1 Speech Formula	1.8.1
3 Imperative	1.8.2-3, 1.9.2
2 Jussive	1.8.4, 1.9.1
1 Subordinated [Suffix]	1.8.5

1.8.1-9.2:

	ותאמר נעמי לשתי כלתיה	1.8.1
	לבנה	2
	שבנה אשה לבית אמה	3
	יעשה יהוה עמכם חסד	4
	כאשר עשיתם עִם־המתים ועמדי	5
	יתן יהוה לכם	9.1
	ומצאן מנוחה אשה בית אישה	2

As can be seen from the clause-types, this text is readily identifiable as an Hortatory text.

---

67 Though it is strongly tempting to analyse these texts by grouping them first according to text-type, this approach, and its attendant benefits, must await a less restricted study.

68 Eleven such sections will be addressed only in footnotes.

We can propose another Hortatory text embedded in the first (1.8.4-9.1) — a blessing, as there is a shift to third person — bracketed by the two, and one, imperative clauses.<sup>69</sup>

3.3.2. 1.11.1-13.6.<sup>70</sup>

This text allows us much more freedom to explore. It contains 18 clauses — a speech formula, and an embedded text of 17 clauses: the last eleven of these are subordinated — we will outline this section more fully below; the first six contain:

3	Imperative clauses	1.11.2, 1.12.1-2
1	Prefix (question)	1.11.3
1	Verbless (question)	1.11.4
1	wc + Suffix < היה	1.11.5

followed by a subordinated clause (1.12.3), into which the remaining material in this Reported Speech section is embedded by another subordinated clause, a speech formula (1.12.4).

1.11.1-13.6:

	ותאמר נעמי	11.1
	שבנה בנתי	2
	למה תלכנה עמי	3
	העורלי בנים במעי	4
	והיו לכם לאנשים	5
	שבנה בנתי	12.1
	לכן	2

69 As we have intimated while working on Judges 10.6.1-12.7.3, we are adopting Longacre’s proposed verb-rank “clines” for Narrative Predictive (see his *Joseph*, p. 107, or my text, above) and Hortatory (ibid., p. 121, or above)

70 [1.10.1-3] This unit is composed of a speech formula, and a subordinated clause for which we must supply an ellipsis: ותאמרנה לה כי אתך נשוב לעמך. We can offer no further comment on this regarding text-type — its subordinating conjunction enforces a non-initial verb form, so we cannot know its true text-type. As it is in response to Naomi’s advice, and as the verb is a Prefix form, we may guess it to be from the Narrative Predictive text-type (allowing for the fact that the context, and the content, would suggest that this response would be “ + Agent Orientation”).

כי זקנתי מהיות לאיש	3
כי אמרתי	4
ישלי תקוה	5
גם הייתי הלילה לאיש	6
וגם ילדתי בנים	7
הלחן תשברנה	13.1
עד אשר יגדלו	2
הלחן תענגנה לבלתי היות לאיש	3
אל בנתי	4
כי־מרדלי מאד מכם	5
כי־יצאה בי ידיהוה	6

The structure and the text-types involved are complex. It is clear that there is a break at 1.12.3, at the subordinating conjunction; the section preceding the subordination is clearly another Hortatory text, with another embedded text within it (the embedded material being a sort of sub-text within the paragraph, bracketed by the repeated **שְׁבִנָּה בְּנִתִּי** clauses). We will not concern ourselves here with this text, due to the difficulties of sifting through the implications of the questions. (The second and third clause, being a Verbless clause and a "wc + Suffix < הִיָּה" clause, point us in the direction of an Expository/"What-it-will-be" text-type).

The remaining section (1.12.3-13.6) likewise leaves us few clues to text-types. The subordinating conjunctions, adverbials, and question formats make identification of text-types nearly impossible (we can identify 1.12.5, of course, as belonging to one of the Expository text-types, but this is hardly an improvement.) On the other hand, we can explore the internal structure of this section with greater more success. We can assign the two questions, and their intervening subordinated clause (1.13.1-3) to a single subsection; and I propose that



the . . . כי אמרתי of 1.12.4-7, which immediately precedes it, is a sort of protasis, to those questions. The questions are answered by the speaker (they are obviously rhetorical) in the negative, and reasons are given (1.13.4-6).

3.3.3. 1.15.1-3.

A simple speech formula introduces this unit of two clauses: the first clause (a Suffix clause) is introduced by הנה; the second is an Imperative clause.

1.15.1-3:

	ותאמר	15.1
הנה שבה יבמתך אל-עממה ואל-אלהיה		2
שובי אחרי יבמתך		3

This is an Hortatory text, where the reason for the command is given; this arrangement is called by Longacre an Hortatory Reason Paragraph.<sup>71</sup>

3.3.4. 1.16.1-17.6

This masterful section, introduced by a simple speech formula, contains 13 clauses, only one of which — a negated Imperative clause (1.16.2), occurring first in the sequence of Reported Speech clauses — does not occur as subordinated text. The subordinated clauses (1.16.3-1.17.6) include 8 Prefix clauses, broken by:

3	Verbless	1.16.7-8, 1.17.5 [w/ Ptc.]
1	Jussive	1.17.4

1.16.1-17.6:

	ותאמר רות	16.1
אל-תפגע-יכי לעזובך לשוב מאחריך		2

71 See Joseph, p. 92, also pp. 125, et passim.

כי +++++ אלך	3
+++ אל-אשר תלכי +++	4
+++++ אלין	5
+++ ובאשר תליני +++	6
עמך עמי	7
ואלהיך אלהי	8
+++++ אמות	17.1
+++ באשר תמותי +++	2
ושם אקבר	3
כה יעשה יהוה לי	4
וכה יסף	5
כי המות יפריד ביני ובינך	6

The same configuration prevails here as in the last unit analysed: this is another Hortatory Reason Paragraph. The reason in this case is an extended list of Narrative Predictive clauses, many of which are paired by subordination. A particularly daring streak in me prompts me to propose that two of the Verbless clauses (1.16.7-8) are peak-markers. This, of course, is highly speculative, as we cannot be certain of the nature of the text for which we are proposing the peak.

The text concludes with an oath (1.17.4-6 — the oath formula itself [a Prefix clause, and Verbless clause w/ Participle], and the restriction [a subordinated Prefix clause]).

The contents of this section are:

1 Speech formula	1.20.1
2 Non-subordinated Suffix cl.	1.21.4-5
3 Subordinated Suffix clauses	1.20.4-21.2
2 Prefix	1.20.2 [negated], 1.21.3 [a question]
1 Imperative	1.20.3

1.20.1-21.5

ותאמר אליהן	20.1
אל־תקראנה לי נעמי	2
קראן לי מרא	3
כי המר שרי לי מאד	4
אני מלאה הלכתי	21.1
וריקם השיבני יהוה	2
למה תקראנה לי נעמי	3
ויהוה ענה בי	4
ושרי הרע לי	5

The first two clauses are clearly Hortatory; the remainder is less easy to place. This is poetic in style, and we have very little to go on in terms of studies of syntax in poetry.<sup>73</sup>

### 3.3.7. 2.2.1-4.

This unit comprises four clauses; the speech formula contains one, the remainder are

72 [1.19.4-5.] This is a very brief speech section, contain only three words: a speech formula, and a two-word Verbless clause in question format [ותאמרנה הזואת נעמי]. It is a non-rhetorical "yes-or-no" question, which allows us to speculate on the kind of form it would take if it were not a question; it is tempting to assign the speech text to an Expository text-type.

73 My feeling is that poetic concerns displace text-type features sufficiently that text-type identification of highly poetic passages is nearly impossible, or at best, irrelevant. Dr Longacre tells me (personal communication, 1992) that very little application of his theory and methodology to poetic texts has been made to date.

2 Cohortative clauses, and one Prefix clause (2.2.4, embedded by subordination). The text clearly Hortatory.

2.2.1-4:

ותאמר רות המואביה אל־נעמי	2.2.1
אלכה־נא השרה	2
ואלקטה בשבלים	3
אחר אשר אמצא־הן בעיני	4

3.3.8. 2.4.2-3.<sup>74</sup>

This unit contains 1 speech formula clause, and one Verbless clause.

2.4.2-3:

ויאמר לקוצרים	4.2
יהוה עמכם	3

Although the embedded text contains Verbless clause, it is Hortatory (it contains a blessing, not a command) rather than Expository. Here is a case where semantics, rather than macro-syntax, identifies for us a text's type. Evaluation by one means rarely excludes the other.

3.3.9. 2.5.1-2.<sup>75</sup>

This unit contains 1 speech formula clause, and one Verbless clause (a question).

2.5.1-2:

ויאמר בעז לנערו הנצב עליהקצרים	5.1
--------------------------------	-----

74 [2.2.5-6] This unit contains 1 speech formula clause, and one Hortatory (Imperative) clause: ותאמר לה לכי בתי.

75 [2.4.4-5] This unit contains 1 speech formula clause, and one Jussive clause. The latter is an Hortatory text. [ויאמר לו יברכך יהוה]

This embedded text is Expository.<sup>76</sup>

### 3.3.10. 2.6.1-7.6.

This speech unit contains 9 clauses:

2	Speech formula cl.	2.6.1-2
	(both wc + Prefix)	
3	wc + Prefix	2.7.1 (a speech formula, introducing the next two, embedded clauses), 2.7.4-5
1	Verbless clause	2.6.3
1	Cohortative	2.7.2
1	wc + Suffix	2.7.3

and the final, "badly disrupted,"<sup>77</sup> clause, whose precise syntax will, unfortunately, very likely remain a mystery.

2.6.1-7.6:

	ויען הנער הנצב אליהקצרים	6.1
	ויאמר	2
	נערה מואביה היא השבה עם־נעמי משרי מואב	3
	ותאמר	7.1
	אלקטה־נא	2
	ואספתי בעמרים אחר הקוצרים	3
	ותבוא	4
	ותעמוד מאז הבקר וער־עתה	5
	זה שבתה הבית מעט > LXX, וער־	6
	עתה לא־שבתה בשדה מעט<	

<sup>76</sup> The question is not rhetorical, which simplifies understanding its purpose, and enables us to determine more easily its nature.

<sup>77</sup> Campbell, p. 96.

This is the first instance in Ruth of a coordinated speech introduction; I will leave others to comment on that fact, however.<sup>78</sup>

Despite the great variety of clause-types, and the textual difficulties with the final verse,<sup>79</sup> this text is fairly easy to sort out. We take our clue from the 3 wc + Prefix clauses; these, and the semantic content, secure the identification of this text as an embedded Narrative History text. The first of these clauses is another speech formula, which introduces an embedded Hortatory text (2.7.2-3). The first and last clauses in the embedded Narrative History text look very like the sorts of things we have begun to expect at the initial, and terminal, boundaries of Narrative History texts.<sup>80</sup>

3.3.11. 2.8.1-9.8.

This speech section contains 13 clauses:

1	Speech formula clause	2.8.1
5	Prefix clauses	2.8.3-4 (negated); 2.9.2 and 2.9.8 (subordinated); and 2.8.5
4	wc + Suffix	2.9.3, 2.9.5-7
2	Suffix (negated)	2.8.2, 2.9.4
1	Verbless	2.9.1

2.8.1-9.8:

וַיֹּאמֶר בְּעֵז אֵלֶיךָ 8.1

הֲלוֹא שָׁמַעַתְּ בְּתִי 2

78 The exhaustive treatise of Meier (Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible) is the best starting place for a fuller treatment of this phenomenon. Although he does not devote a specific section to the question of multiple-clause introductions to Reported Speech, he makes several comments on sections containing such speech formulae.

79 see Campbell, pp. 94ff.

80 Both the difficult MT reading (in essence, a Verbless clause with a substantival Infinitive), and the apparently derivative LXX reading (a negated Suffix clause), could fit easily into the role expected of a terminal clause.

אל־תלכי ללקט בשרה אחר	3
וגם לא תעבורי מזה	4
וכה תדבקין עס־נערת	5
עיניך בשרה	9.1
אשר־תקצרון	2
והלכת אחריהם	3
הלוא צויתי את־הנערים לבלתי נגעך	4
וצמת	5
והלכת אל־הבליים	6
ושתית	7
מאשר ישאבון הנערים	8

This, too, looks more confusing than it is. The questions (2.8.2, and 2.9.4) are difficult, but do not impede us from analysis of the rest of the text. 2.8.3–9.2 are clearly Hortatory clauses; 2.9.3 and 2.9.5–8 are clearly Procedural/Instructional. Both units conclude with a subordinated clause.

### 3.3.12. 2.11.1–12.3.<sup>81</sup>

This text begins with a two-clause introductory speech formula; it continues with:

4 Suffix clauses	2.11.7 (negated); 2.11.3–4, 2.12.3
2 wc + Prefix	2.11.5–6
2 Jussives	2.12.1–2 (the second with הִיָּה)

2.11.1–12.3:

ויען בעז	11.1
ויאמר לה	2

81 [2.10.3–5] This unit is comprised of 3 clauses (מדוע מצאתי הן בעיניך להכרינו ואנכי) (נכריה): a speech formula; a Suffix clause (a question); and a Verbless clause. Once again, we have a non-rhetorical question, which — in combination with the Verbless clause permits us to determine this as an embedded Expository text.

הגד הגד לי	3
כל אשר-עשית את-חמותך אחר	4
מות אישך	
ותעזובי אביר ואמר וארץ מולדתך	5
ותלכי אל-עם	6
אשר לא-ידעת תמול שלשום	7
ישלם יהוה פעלך	12.1
ותהי משכרתך שלמה מעם יהוה	2
אלהי ישראל	
אשר-באת לחסות תחת-כנפיו	3

This is the second instance of a coordinated speech formula.

The assignment of a text type to the first clause in the embedded speech unit will remain difficult, as there is no context in which to set it, which would have aided in identifying its text-type. The next four, however, (2.11.4-7) are clearly Narrative History (note once again the concluding subordinate clause); the following three clauses (2.12.1-3) are another blessing text (Hortatory, with a yet another concluding subordinate clause).

### 3.3.13. 2.13.1-5.

This speech unit contains a simple speech formula, and 4 other clauses — 2 Suffix clauses (subordinated), bracketed by 2 Prefix clauses (the latter negated and from דיה).

2.13.1-5:

ותאמר	13.1
אמצא-חן בעיניך אדני	2
כי נחמתי	3
וכי דברת על-לב שפחתך	4
ואנכי לא אהיה כאחת שפחתך	5



This text appears to parallel that on which we commented briefly in §3.3.15 — the first section remarks on the unexpected kindness of Boaz (which in this text is followed by two subordinated clauses); the second is a statement of identity ("foreigner" [2.10.5], and "not even like one of your maidservants" [2.13.5]). The text-type of these two units is nevertheless difficult to ascertain.

3.3.14. 2.14.1-4.

This speech unit contains a speech formula, and 1 Imperative clause, followed by 2 wc + Suffix clauses.

2.14.1-4:

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ בְּעֹז לֵעֵת הָאֲכַל	14.1
גִּשְׂי הָלֶם	2
וְאָכַלְתְּ מִן־הַלֶּחֶם	3
וְטָבַלְתְּ פֶתֶךְ בַּחֲמִין	4

The embedded text appears to be a command, and its result; this may fall under the category of Hortatory, pure and simple, or it may be a combined Hortatory and Narrative Predictive paragraph.

3.3.15. 2.15.2-16.4.

The unit contains 1 speech formula clause, and:

4 Prefix clauses	2.15.4, 2.16.4 (negated); and 2.15.3, 2.16.1
2 wc + Suffix clauses	2.16.2-3

2.15.2-16.4:

וַיֵּצֵא בְּעֹז אֶת־נַעֲרָיו לֵאמֹר	15.2
גַּם בֵּין הָעַמִּים תִּלְקָט	3
וְלֹא תִבְלִימוּהָ	4

וגם של־תִּשְׁלוּ לָהּ מִן־הַצִּבּוֹתִים	16.1
וְעִזְבוּתָם	2
וּלְקִטָּה	3
וְלֹא תִנְעֲרוּ־בָהּ	4

The embedded text appears to be a solid stretch of Procedural/Instructional material, much of it in secondary (off-line) forms due to negation, or fronting of emphasized clausal elements.

The repetition of **גַּם** at 2.15.3 and 2.16.1 may indicate the onset of paragraphs;<sup>82</sup> this suggests two units — 2.15.3-4, and 2.16.1-4 — both of which are terminated with negated clauses.

The reality of these units is confirmed by a shift from forbidding the workers to harass Ruth, to requiring them to be intentionally generous with the grain left for her.

### 3.3.16. 2.19.5-9.<sup>83</sup>

The response to Naomi's questions comes in the form of a Narrative History text, and of a Reported Speech section. We can see the former as part of a composite introductory speech formula. The remaining clauses are two: a Verbless clause, and a subordinated Suffix clause. The speech text is Expository.

2.19.5-9:

וְתִנְגַּד לַחֲמוּתָהּ	19.5
אֵת אֲשֶׁר־עָשְׂתָה עִמּוֹ	6
וְתֹאמַר	7
שֵׁם הָאִישׁ +++++ בְּעוֹ	8
+++ אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי עִמּוֹ הַיּוֹם +++	9

82 A less frequently employed macro-syntactic option.

83 [2.19.1-4] The unit consists of 1 speech formula, 2 Suffix clauses (in question format), and 1 Jussive (blessing) clause. We cannot comment any further at this point, as the difficulties of question texts, and of Suffix clauses unaccompanied by contextual material to help with identification, preclude greater precision. [וְתֹאמַר לָהּ הַמּוֹתָהּ אֵיפֹה לְקִטָּה] [הַיּוֹם וְאָנָּה עָשִׂיתִי יְהִי מִבִּירָךְ בְּרוּךְ]

3.3.17. 2.20.1-3.

The following text is composed of a simple speech formula, a Verbless clause, and a subordinated negated Suffix clause.

2.20.1-3:

ותאמר נעמי לבלתה	20.1
ברוך הוא ליהוה	2
אשר לא־עזב חסדו את־החיים ואת־המתים	3

This embedded text can be described as an Hortatory unit, despite its similarity of clause-types to the preceding text; the Verbless clause, in this case, presupposes a Jussive form of הִיָּה.

3.3.18. 2.20.4-6.

This unit consists of 1 speech formula, and 2 Verbless clauses. The embedded text is Expository.

2.20.4-6:

ותאמר לה נעמי	20.4
קרוב לנו האיש	5
מנאלנו הוא	6

3.3.19. 2.21.1-7.

This section contains:

1 Speech formula clause	2.21.1
2 Suffix clauses	2.21.3 (subordinated), 2.21.6
2 Verbless clauses	2.21.5, 2.21.7 (both subordinated)

2.21.1-7:

ותאמר רות המואביה	21.1
גם [ . . . ]	2
כי־אמר אלי	3
עֲסִינְעִרִים תִּדְבֹּקִין	4
אשר־לי	5
עד אֲסִכְלוּ אֶת כָּל־הַקָּצִיר	6
אשר־לי	7

The rather disjointed embedded text commences with an elliptical (or rather, defective) clause (does this reflect excited speech?), to which is subordinated a speech formula; the remainder amounts to an embedded Procedural/Instructional or Hortatory text, with an appended temporal clause.

### 3.3.20. 2.22.1-4.

This section contains four clauses, in order: 1, speech formula; 1 Verbless clause; and 2 Prefix clauses (1, negated).

2.22.1-4:

ותאמר נעמי אל־רוּת בִּלְתָּה	22.1
טוב בתי	2
כי תצאי עֲסִינְעִרוֹתַי	3
ולא יִפְגְּעֶיכָךְ בַּשָּׂדֶה אַחֵר	4

The embedded text in this unit is Expository, with the reason for the Expository statement

3.3.21. 3.1.1-4.8.

This unit contains 19 clauses:

1	Speech formula	3.1.1
8	wc + Suffix clauses	3.3.1-4, 3.4.2, 3.4.4-6
6	Prefix	3.1.2-3, 3.3.5 (both negated); 3.4.3, 3.4.7-8
2	Verbless	3.2.1 (a negated questinon), 3.2.3 (w/ הנה + Ptc)
1	Suffix < היה (subordinated)	3.2.2
1	Prefix < היה (negated)	3.3.5

3.1.1-4.8:

ותאמר לה נעמי חמותה	3.1.1
בתי הלא אבקש-לך מנוח	2
אשר ייטב-לך	3
ועתה הלא בעז מדעתנו	2.1
אשר היית את-נערותי	2
הנה-הוא זרה את-גרן השערים הלילה	3
ורחצת	3.1
וסכת	2
ושמת שמלתך <שמלתך> עליך	3
וירדתי <וירדת ק'> הגרן	4
אל-תודעי לאיש עד בלתו לאכל ולשתות	5
ויהי בשכבו	4.1
וידעת את-המקום	2
אשר ישכב-שם	3
ובאת	4
וגלית מדגלתיו	5
ושכבתי <ושכבת ק'>	6
והוא יגיד לך	7

The first two clauses are again difficult, due to the "question question"; we will leave them — they appear, in any case, to be introductory to the remainder of Naomi's speech. The two Verbless clauses, and their intervening subordinated **וְהִיה** clause, provide the setting for the following Procedural/Instructional text (3.3.1-4.6); this text is divided into two episodes, the first terminating with a negated Prefix clause, the second beginning with a Prefix clause < **וְהִיה**. The subordinated clause may introduce the peak. The final two clauses are Narrative Predictive (3.4.7-8).

### 3.3.22. 3.9.3-6.<sup>84</sup>

This speech section is composed of a speech formula clause, 2 Verbless clauses (1, subordinated), and 1 wc + Suffix clause.

3.9.3-6:

	וְתֹאמֶר	9.3
	אֲנֹכִי רוּת אֹמֶתֶךָ	4
	וּפְרַשְׁתְּ כִנְפְךָ עַל-אֹמֶתֶךָ	5
	כִּי גָאֵל אֶתָּה	6

The embedded text I would identify as Procedural/Instructional — or an Expository unit and a Procedural/Instructional unit. The former explanation considers the Verbless clause at the commencement of the speech unit to be a background "setting" for the Instruction section; the latter explanation sees the two sections as more on an equal footing, or even that the first is

84 [3.5.1-3] This unit, composed of a speech formula clause, and 2 Prefix clauses (one of which is subordinated), contains a Narrative Predictive text [וְתֹאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ כָּל] [אֲשֶׁר-תֹּאמְרִי <אֵלַי> אַעֲשֶׂה].

[3.9.1-2] This unit contains 2 clauses: a speech formula, and a Verbless clause. The embedded text (a question), appears to be Expository. [וַיֹּאמֶר מִי-אַתָּה]

of greater "weight" than the second. I lean slightly toward the latter explanation, but consider the two sections more or less equal.

3.3.23. 3.10.1-13.9.

This unit contains 20 clauses:

1	Speech formula	3.10.1
7	Verbless clauses	3.10.2 and 3.11.4 (w/ Ptc); 3.11.5, 3.12.2-3, 3.13.3, 3.13.8
6	Prefix	3.11.1 (negated); 3.11.2-3, 3.13.4-6 (the last functioning as a Jussive)
2	Imperative	3.13.1, 3.13.9
2	wc + Suffix	3.13.3 ( < הִיָּה > ), 3.13.7
1	Suffix	3.10.3
1	Clause with יֵשׁ	3.12.4
1	Elliptical clause (omitted from the clause count)	3.12.1

3.10.1-13.9:

	וַיֹּאמֶר	10.1
	בְּרוּכָה אַתָּה לַיהוָה בְּתִי	2
	הַיְטַבְתָּ חֹסֶדְךָ הָאֲחֵרוֹן מִן־הָרָאשׁוֹן לְבִלְתִּי־	3
	לִכְתּוֹב אַחֲרָי הַבְּחֻרִים אֶסְדֹּל וְאֶסְעִיר	
	וְעַתָּה בְּתִי אֶל־תִּירָאִי	11.1
	+++++ אַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ	2
	+++ כֹּל אֲשֶׁר־תֹּאמַרִי +++	3
	כִּי יִזְדַּע כָּל־שַׁעַר עָמִי	4
	כִּי אֵשֶׁת חַיִל אַתָּה	5
	וְעַתָּה [ . . . ]	12.1
	כִּי אִמְנָם	2
	כִּי <אִם Qere, del> נָאֵל אֲנִכִּי	3

ליני הלילה	13.1
והיה בבקר	2
אם־יגאלך	3
מזב	4
יגאל	5
ואם־לא יחפץ לגאלך	6
וגאלתיך אנכי	7
חִי־הוּהָ	8
שכבי עֲד־הַבֶּקֶר	9

The embedded text opens with an Hortatory Reason Paragraph (a blessing text — 3.10.2-3); it is followed by another of the same, but this time the second part is expounded by a Predictive text, rather than an historical one. This latter contains a reason for the reason, as it were (two Verbless clauses).

The third section (a complex Hortatory text — 3.12.1-13.9) is divided from the second by *ועתה*, as was the second from the first. The initial clause of the third section is defective; an Expository text is subordinated to it (3.12.2-4); this is followed by the body of the Hortatory text, which itself has several layers of embedding.<sup>85</sup> Suffice it to say that there is Predictive material, and there is Hortatory material, as well as Expository material, in the interior of this unit.

### 3.3.24. 3.14.4-5.

This speech section consists of 3 clauses: the speech formula, a negated Jussive clause, and a subordinated Suffix clause. There is no difficulty in identifying the embedded text as Hortatory, on the basis of the single main clause.

3.14.4-5:

---

<sup>85</sup> I would risk going too far with this analysis, were I to attempt to describe closely each clause in this section; any suggestions would be no more than provisional. This, too, I will leave unattended.



3.3.25. 3.15.1-4.

This unit comprises a speech formula, and 2 Imperative clauses separated by a subordinated Verbless clause. This text is likewise Hortatory.

3.15.1-4:

3.3.26. 3.16.4-17.4.<sup>86</sup>

This section contains 6 clauses: 3 speech formula clauses, and 2 Suffix clauses (one of which is subordinated), followed by a negated Prefix clause.

3.16.4-17.4:

86 [3.16.2-3] This section is identical in structure to 3.9.1-2 (see note above; the same comments apply), apart from the vocative added to the end of the question.

This composite speech formula is very similar to the one we saw at 2.19.5-7, which occurred — like this one — in the context of Ruth recounting to Naomi an important encounter with Boaz. The "past tense" parts of the embedded text hint at Narrative History, but the evidence is not sufficient to secure an identification; the subordinated clause, however, is a speech formula clause, and introduces an embedded Hortatory text.

;pi 11

### 3.3.27. 3.18.1-6.

The six clauses of this speech unit include:

- |   |                           |                                |
|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | Speech formula            | 3.18.1                         |
| 1 | Imperative clause         | 3.18.2                         |
| 3 | Prefix (all subordinated) | 3.18.3-5 (the last is negated) |
| 1 | Suffix                    | 3.18.6                         |

3.18.1-6:

	ותאמר	18.1
	שבי בתי	2
	עד אשר תדעין	3
	איך יפל דבר	4
	כי לא ישפט האיש	5
	כי־אם־כלה הדבר היום	6

The text is an embedded Hortatory Reason Paragraph, the second half (3.18.5-6) being a Predictive text with a temporal (Suffix) clause.

### 3.3.28. 4.1.5-7.

This unit contains a speech formula clause, and two Imperative clauses; the embedded text is Hortatory.

4.1.5-7:

וַיֹּאמֶר	5
סֹרֶה	6
שְׁבַח־פֶּה פִּלְנִי	7

### 3.3.29. 4.3.1-4.10.<sup>87</sup>

This unit contains 13 clauses:

1 Speech formula clause	4.3.1
4 Prefix	3.4.5 and 3.4.7 (subordinated; the latter is negated); 3.4.2, 3.4.8
3 Imperative	3.4.3-4, 3.4.5
2 Suffix	3.3.2, 3.4.1
2 Verbless	3.3.3, 3.4.10
1 Clause with אִין	3.4.9

4.3.1-4.10:

וַיֹּאמֶר לְגֹאֵל	3.1
חֲלַקַּת הַשְּׂרָה +++++ מְבֹרָה נְעֻמִּי הַשְּׁבַח מִשְׁרָה מִיָּאֵב	2
+++ אִשֶּׁר לְאַחִינוּ לְאַלִּימֶלֶךְ +++	3
וְאִנִּי אִמְרָתִי	4.1
אִגְלָה אֶזְנֶךָ לְאִמְרִי	2

87 [4.2.2-3] This unit contains 2 clauses — a speech formula, and an Imperative clause [וַיֹּאמֶר  
[שְׁבַח־פֶּה] — its embedded text, like that in the previous one, is Hortatory.

קנה נגר הישבים ונגד זקני עמי	3
אס־תגאל	4
גאל	5
ואס־לא יגאל <תגאל>	6
הגידה לי	7
וארע <וארעה ק'>	8
כי אין זולתך לגאול	9
ואנכי אחריך	10

The embedded text contains a speech formula (4.4.1-2), which introduces an embedded Hortatory text (4.4.3-10) — the latter part of this (4.4.8-10) is an amplification of 4.4.7; the earlier section (4.3.2-4.2) does not define easily, though I take it to be a stage-setting device for the Hortatory text which follows it.

### 3.3.30. 4.4.11-12.

This unit contains a speech formula, and a Prefix clause; the embedded text is Predictive.

4.4.11-12:

ויאמר	11
אנכי אנאל	12

### 3.3.31. 4.6.1-5.<sup>88</sup>

This speech unit contains 5 clauses: a speech formula clause; 3 Prefix clauses (2, negated; 2, subordinated); and 1 Imperative clause (3.6.5).

4.6.1-5:

ויאמר הגאל	6.1
------------	-----

88 [4.5.1-2] This section is composed of a speech formula and a Suffix clause. Identification of the text-type of the embedded clause is not possible. [ויאמר בעז ביום־קנותך השרה] [מיד נעמי ומאת רות המואביה אשת־המת קניתי <תה> להקים שם־המת על־נחלתו]

לא אוכל לגאול־לי	2
פן־אשחית את־נחלתי	3
גאול־לך אתה את־גאולתי	4
כי לא־אוכל לגאול	5

The embedded text is composite: the opening clause is Predictive, and is followed by a result statement (Predictive?); the second section (4.6.4-5) is an Hortatory Reason Paragraph, the second half being a summary of the first (Predictive) clause.

### 3.3.32. 4.9.1-10.3.<sup>89</sup>

There are 8 clauses in this unit; after a single clause speech formula, we find:

4 Verbless	4.9.4-5(subordinated); 4.9.2, 4.10.3
2 Suffix	4.9.3, 4.10.1
1 Prefix (negated)	4.10.2

4.9.1-10.3:

ויאמר בעז לוקנים וכל־העם	9.1
ערים אתם היום	2
כי קניתי ++++++ מיד נעמי	3
+++ את־כל־אשר לאלימלך +++	4
+++ ואת כל־אשר לכליון ומחלון +++	5
וגם את־דרות המאביה אשת מחלון קניתי לי לאשה להקים שם־המת עלי־נחלתו	10.1

<sup>89</sup> [4.8.1-2] This unit is composed of a speech formula and an Imperative clause — ויאמר — the embedded text is Hortatory.

The embedded text is bracketed by two Verbless clauses (identical); these identify the incorporating text as Expository; the material contained in the subordinated clauses is some sort of historical/expository material.<sup>90</sup>

### 3.3.33. 4.11.1-12.3.

This speech section is introduced by a composite speech formula containing 2 clauses, and includes a further 8 clauses. These are: 2 each of subordinated Suffix clauses, and Imperative clauses, and 1 each Verbless clause, Jussive clause, Prefix clause of הִיָּה, and Prefix clause.

3 Prefix clauses	4.11.4 (Jussive); 4.12.1 ( < הִיָּה ); 4.12.3
2 Suffix (subordinated)	4.11.5, 4.12.2
2 Imperative	4.11.6-7
1 Verbless	4.11.3

4.11.1-12.3:

וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל־הָעָם +++++ וְהִזְקִינִים 11.1

+++ אֲשֶׁר־בְּשַׁעַר +++ 2

עֲרִים 3

יֵתֵן יְהוָה אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה הַבָּאָה אֶל־בֵּיתְךָ 4

כִּרְחֵל וּכְלָאָה

אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּ שְׁתֵּיהֶם אֶת־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל 5

<sup>90</sup> This appears to be formal speech; we simply do not have enough data processed (or perhaps, not enough data, full stop!) to be able to venture conclusions about its text-linguistic features.

ועשה־חיל באפרתה	6
וקרא־שם בבית לחם	7
ויהי ביתך בבית פרץ +++++ מן־הזרע	12.1

+++ אשר־ילדה תמר ליהודה +++	2
-----------------------------	---

אשר יתן יהוה לך מן־הנערה הזאת	3
-------------------------------	---

In response to Boaz' formal speech to them as witness of the transaction, the ten elders respond with an Expository "we are witness," and continue on with a blessing of the couple; this divides into two units (semantically, the first section dealing with Boaz, the second with Ruth), which both conclude with subordinated clauses.

### 3.3.34. 4.14.1-15.4.

This section contains 8 clauses:

1 Speech formula	4.14.1
3 Suffix clauses (subordinated)	4.14.3 (negated); 4.15.2-3
2 Verbless	4.14.2, 4.15.4
1 wc + Suffix < היה	4.15.1
1 Prefix (possibly as jussive)	4.14.4

4.14.1-15.4:

ותאמרנה הנשים אל־נעמי	14.1
ברוך יהוה	2
אשר לא השבית לך גאל היום	3
ויקרא שמו בישראל	4
וזהו לך למשיב נפש ולכלכל את־שיבתך	15.1
כי בלתך +++++ ילדתו	2
+++ אשר־אהבתך +++	3
אשר־היא טובה לך משבעה בנים	4

This embedded text is Hortatory (a blessing) — it has an historical section (4.15.2-4) giving the reason for the praise.

### 3.3.35. 4.17.1-2.

The final Reported Speech section of the book is composed of two clauses — a speech formula, and a Suffix clause. The embedded text does not admit to any more precise description than "historical."

4.17.1-2:

ותקראנה לו השכנות שם לאמר 17.1

יִלְד־בֶּן לנעמי 2

### 3.4. Summary and conclusions.

The conclusions we may draw from our examination of Reported Speech material in Ruth, are hindered by three factors:

1) although we have, throughout this volume, cited the need to test our conclusions against further data, here the need is the greater; in short, our data-sample has been too small to make any but the most obvious, and the most tentative, observations, for a variety of reasons — but here more than elsewhere we need to process more texts;

2) the first of these reasons for needing a larger data-base is that text-types within Reported Speech material shift rapidly, and it is not common to find long stretches of material in a single text-type — broadening our data-base would bring to us more texts of a greater length, which are the better starting point for research than the shorter ones;

and 3) the very fact that subordination (which is more common in Reported Speech than in non-Reported Speech), specifically, — and embedding, more generally — by reason of their cohesion with other units within their context, both limit the kinds of clauses which can occur at the outset of any text unit in such a section, means that we have a greater number of clauses than we would like whose surface structure signals as to text-type have been obscured by later permutations.

On the other hand, however, we have had encouraging results as well. One of our



working hypotheses<sup>91</sup> was that the constituent structure of a text would be marked by "divergences from the main-line form in all text-types," and that the "off-line marking of constituent structure will be confirmed by other types of marking devices." Where the text has been ample enough for us to examine both main-line and off-line clauses in a single text-type, we have seen this hypothesis substantiated: Ruth 2.15.2 - 16.4 is a good example of this, where syntactically marked divisions are confirmed by a shift in topical focus.

The data we have examined follow that pattern established for their individual text-types; any disruptions of the expected pattern can be seen to be consistent with the hypothesis that these were conditioned by syntactic relationships between the embedded (Reported Speech) text, and the clause into which it is embedded.

We have seen in our examination of Ruth strongly consistent tendencies, both within the book itself, and in comparison with other texts. In particular, the Narrative History text-type and the Procedural/Instructional text-type — being the two text-types with which the reader will now be most familiar — were shown to have consistent boundary, main-line, and peak-marking features throughout the data, whether in simple narration, or in Reported Speech. The treatment of Reported Speech in Ruth has shown that the kinds of features observed in other texts examined occur as well when the material is conveyed as Speech. I anticipate that this hypothesis will be found the more solidly substantiated the more data is processed.

---

91 See §3.1.4.

1. Summary.

In this study, we have sampled five currently influential works on the text-linguistic description of Classical Hebrew, a theoretical base and methodology for such description was presented, and several texts were worked according to this theoretical model. *Our goals have been to underline the need in such undertakings for good theory and methodology, and for clear and direct communication of findings.*

To this end, in the first two chapters, we surveyed Niccacci's Syntax, Eskhult's Studies, Andersen's Sentence, Khan's Studies, and Longacre's Joseph. Each of these contributes to our growing understanding of text-level features in Classical Hebrew. Each of them also fails to achieve our ideal standards of theoretical/methodological integrity, and/or clarity of presentation.<sup>1</sup> It is claimed 1) that the Hebrew language can be described elegantly and helpfully at the level of "text"; and 2) that this cannot be accomplished if the researcher's theoretical starting point does not allow for the possibility of a variety of text-types, or if the write-up does not explain itself so that linguistically astute, but non-linguistically trained, hebraists can both trace the procedures, and comprehend the results.

Of the five works we examined, it was claimed that Joseph offered the greatest steps forward in the description of the language — i.e., its description of text-types by a matrix with three distinctive parameters, and the description of each text-type in terms of its own specific scale of clause-type distribution (which Longacre terms 'clines'); and since Longacre doesn't offer much theoretical explanation, the third chapter attempted this task. Since our space was limited, it was decided that we should focus on that portion of the theoretical basis which would permit the reader quickest access to the most significant contributions of Joseph; this has meant that we worked toward an understanding of certain basic features of "tagmemics" which are particularly important for an understanding of the

---

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Khan, whose topic is so restricted, and is so alone in its class, that its usefulness is limited, even if it is a model of scholarly work.

matrix and the clines.

This presentation of the theoretical base also entailed discussing methodological principles, and in the end, led us to propose some working hypotheses with which we could give the theoretical base a "road-test."

This road-test consisted in asking of several texts whether text-types and main-line forms did in fact appear to be linked, and whether the patterns created by the alternation between main-line and off-line forms coincided with other features to reveal the internal structure of the texts. In addition, we looked at "Reported Speech" to determine, if possible, whether this kind of text had the same text-type and cline characteristics as non-Reported Speech. The final analysis attempted to step away from self-conscious theoretical explanation, and to apply our theory and methodology, more freely, to a single, unified text.

Thus, the organisation of this volume is as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction, and Examination of Three Texts: Niccacci, Eskhult, and Andersen;

Chapter Two: Examination of Khan and Longacre;

Chapter Three: A Summary Introduction of the Tagmemic Linguistic Model of Text Analysis, and Resultant Principles of Methodology, Including a Set of Working Hypotheses with which to Test the Model;

Chapter Four: Analysis of Hebrew Texts — Taking Text Samples from Judges, Leviticus, and Exodus;

Chapter Five: Analysis of More Texts — a Sample from Judges, and the Book of Ruth;

Chapter Six: Summary, Conclusions, and Implications.

It is merely happenstance that the central chapter of this study focusses on theory and methodology; yet it is nonetheless significant. In fact, we might loosely apply the term 'chiastic' to the structure of this work — the central chapter lays out for the reader the details of the theory and methodology with which we will approach the data; those preceding it examine modern works with reference to their theory and methodology (at a fairly basic

level) — and, generally find them less than ideal; and those following it apply the proposed theory and methodology to a set of biblical texts.

## 2. Conclusions.

In our survey of other works (Chs. 1 and 2), we found each of these to contain solid contributions to our field of interest, but also to exhibit specific weaknesses. In Niccacci and Eskhult, we found that the binary opposition between "Narrative," on the one hand, and "Discourse," on the other, which both relied upon, was inadequate to describe what is happening in Hebrew at the text level, particularly within their category of "Discourse." In Andersen, the difficulty encountered was one of readability; simply, valuable data is obscured by "jargon" and idiosyncratic abbreviations, to the extent that few hebraists really tackle the work at all.

Khan's topic is very narrow, and therefore is limited in its applicability; yet it stands out as a model of controlled, balanced scholarship; little can be said by way of complaint about this work.

Longacre suffers somewhat from the same "jargonal" deficiencies as Andersen; this is not simply a characteristic of this model of analysis, because Khan, for all his lucidity, cites Longacre as one of his strongest influences — rather it is merely a feature of scientific studies that 'process' is highlighted over communicability, with the result that some obfuscation of the results is not uncommon. On the other hand, Longacre imports unique insight to the treatment of Hebrew texts, and his contributions are extremely valuable.

I would like to stress here that Chapters One and Two are not simply introductory, providing background for the study at hand, as do many first chapters in other dissertations — the subjects of which chapters may seem roughly equivalent to those of my own; rather, these chapters contribute a major part of the substance of this particular study. This dissertation is an evaluation of theory and, more importantly, methodology, in a variety of text-linguistic undertakings, and a recommendation for a particular theory and methodology for further analysis of biblical Hebrew. Therefore, examination of these works is not merely required as

a setting for my own project; it is my project.

Many authors give some attention to text-linguistic research without entering fully into it, and many others supply confirmation of the reality of text-level features by approaching texts from a completely different angle, yet arriving in the end at very similar conclusions. And, as well, there are those authors who have consciously eschewed the realm of text-linguistic description, even while acknowledging, on occasion, its value. Waltke and O'Connor's Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax was singled out as a particularly significant example of this, and addressed in an excursus; for though they process an enormous amount of theoretical and otherwise difficult material, for the benefit of the less well-read user of their book, yet they bluntly refuse to do this same kind of processing when it comes to text-linguistics.

Since Longacre's insights are so significant, we descend into the morass of theoretical linguistics in order to make these contributions more readily accessible, and to equip the reader to a small degree to engage in his own text-linguistic research using this model. We have claimed strongly that this theory is a significantly better starting point for analysis than many others because it has been saturated, since its inception, in the problems and intricacies of real language data; few other models have had this kind of exposure to the world's languages, and fewer still are as innately responsive to the nuances of the data, nor as respectful of the primacy thereof, as the tagmemic model.

So, at the risk of gross oversimplification, I have offered a brand of "tagmemic" theory which will equip the reader to work more effectively with the contributions of Longacre, Andersen, and Khan (et al.), and in particular, to appreciate the integrity of this kind of scholarship. It serves, in addition, the purpose of laying the ground-work for the methodology which I have applied to the texts examined here. The theoretical ground-work is closely linked with the methodology, which was presented with explanation of the formats employed for examining the data. This chapter is the core of this study, and it is hoped that the reader will thus have at his fingertips enough theory to do his own evaluating of the data.

As we looked at methodological principles in this chapter, we proposed a general

working hypothesis, and several "sub-hypotheses," which our space limitations would permit us to take to the data. These were:

Main-line clause-types are text-type specific, and can be described as such; they will predominate in the text, and text-types can be identified by the predominant clause-type.

The main-line clause-type for the Narrative History text-type is the wc + Prefix clause.

The main-line for the [Narrative] Predictive text-type is the wc + Suffix clause.

The main-line clause-type for the Hortatory text-type is built on a "command" form.

The main-line clause-type for the Expository text-types is the Verbless clause.

Other text-types, whose clines have not been described nor intimated by Longacre in *Joseph* will be identified first by features other than "main-line" clause-types (as these have not yet been proposed), and then clause distribution within those texts for which we have able to posit a text-type identity, will be examined with a view toward proposing their main-line forms.

The constituent structure of texts will be marked by divergences from the main-line form in all text-types; off-line marking of constituent structure will be confirmed by other types of marking devices, and will reflect a comprehensible underlying notional structure.

The results of the above analyses will be expected to hold true for Reported Speech as well.

We applied these hypotheses first to Judges 2, with the assumption that the reader would find the results easiest to assimilate; since many have already undertaken studies of the text-level features of Narrative History prose, these features will be more familiar to the reader. We examined this text's clause distribution statistics and proposed that they fit with our hypothesis that the wc + Prefix clause is the main-line form for this text-type, and that other clauses fit the pattern as off-line forms. We also began to suspect some sort of text-level function in the distribution of subordinated clauses.

Our next text was a section of Leviticus 14. In this sample we found that the we + Suffix form predominated, and that this appeared to be the main-line form for Procedural/Instructional texts; off-line clause-types were posited as well. We looked briefly at another text from Leviticus (from chapters 6-7), which encouraged us with regard to these identifications. Here we addressed, not for the only time, the question of texts being embedded in other texts. Here it was seen that the Procedural/Instructional material (wrapped, albeit minimally, in Expository material) was set into an Hortatory framework, which itself was set into the over-arching Narrative History structure of the Pentateuch.

We moved from these texts to a comparison of portions of the two series of pericopes concerning the building of the Tabernacle. These two were shown to be, on the one hand, Procedural/Instructional — with a similar distribution of features to that which we saw in the Leviticus samples — and on the other, Narrative History, or Procedural/Lab Report. The second set was difficult to identify precisely; it exhibited many of the same features which we had seen in the Judges material, but we were not confident enough to assign to it a particular text-type identity. Longacre has stated that Procedural/Instructional texts look very similar to Narrative Predictive texts, sharing the same main-line clause-types, and so on. It stands to reason, then, that Procedural/Lab Report texts might likewise share main-line clause-types with Narrative History texts. Our data at this stage are inconclusive.

The Exodus pericopes provided opportunities to try our hand at identifying the Expository text-types, with their clause distributions, as well. Longacre's suspicions about the verb ranking one would expect to find in these text-types (stative clause-types occupying the main-line slots, etc.) were found to be good guide-lines.

With these data under our belt, so to speak, we were able to add some more working hypotheses (rather, "sub-hypotheses") to those we started with; these were not so much different from the former, as simply more specific.

Chapter Five introduced two new texts: the story of Jephthah from Judges 10ff.; and the book of Ruth. In the first of these, we narrowed our focus to the Narrative History text-type. Here, however, our intent was to examine Niccacci's view that historical texts in



Reported Speech are a different text-type from those in non-Reported Speech. To this end, we examined first the non-Reported Narrative History text, then compared it with five Narrative History texts found in Reported Speech. These were found to conform significantly to patterns we had seen in earlier Narrative History material, with one slight exception: the first clause in the embedded Narrative History material never took a *wc + Prefix* form. However, rather than following Niccacci's lead in defining this as a different form of Narrative, I proposed that the first clause in any Reported Speech unit always indicates its status as an element in the [speech introduction] clause in which it is embedded, and therefore is never, in terms of surface structure, clause-initial. This allows us to maintain the symmetry of the matrix, and yet accounts for the distinctive features noticed in the texts so far examined.

Our final engagement with the data involved the book of Ruth, where we attempted to walk through the text with all our tools at work in consort. Allowing for the development of hypotheses as we went along, this meant that we examined Ruth, first, in terms of the main-line and off-line clause-types, subordinated clauses, and embedded speech texts. These were seen to work remarkably closely with one another to show forth a "plot" structure for the book as a whole, and for individual episodes within it.

When our examination of the constituent structure of Ruth was completed, we turned our attention to analysing the internal structure of the individual speech units. Each Reported Speech section was addressed, even where the text was too short, or too complex to permit conclusions. It was found, however — these short, or difficult, passages aside — that what we proposed as a result of our study of the Narrative History sections in Reported Speech in the Jephthah story, was true as well here. That is to say, *once we had permitted the hypothesis that opening clauses of Reported Speech units reflect their non-initial status as embedded units, we found no reason to suggest that text-types encode any differently in Reported Speech, than in non-Reported Speech.*

In the long run, this study has shown that text-types other than Narrative History have features as particular to themselves as those which have come to be recognised as



features of Narrative History. In addition, these text-types show a strong preference for a particular clause-type, and this serves as the backbone of the text. Off-line clauses are also identifiable, and the two — main-line and off-line — serve with other features to mark the constituent structure (breaks in the flow, and peaks) of the text; each text-type deploys clause-types in a characteristic fashion. In addition, apart from requiring to show its cohesion with the text in which it is embedded, Reported Speech does not appear to challenge any of these hypotheses significantly. As a by-product of this research strong hints surfaced that subordination plays a role in the constituent structure marking of Narrative History at least (principally occurring at the ends of episodes), and that Reported Speech does likewise (though its distribution leads us to the conclusion that its function is to sustain tension in the story, or to develop it slightly).

### 3. Implications for progress.

I believe that it is in turning to fully productive linguistic models that progress will be made in assessing and describing features of Classical Hebrew. What has been presented here is but a mere start along the way. What is needed is solid linguistic study of the language, written in such a way that it makes a difference to those who use the language on a day-to-day basis — that is, rabbis and pastors, teachers and students, and so on.<sup>2</sup>

Yet I don't want to imply that it is linguistic scientists who should be doing this work; yes, their contributions are singularly welcome (write in reasonable lucid English, or other modern language, please), but to exclude linguistically astute hebraists with no formal linguistic training would be a grave mistake, for these are often the people with the most intimate understanding of the Hebrew text. Though they lack formal tools, their knowledge is irreplaceable. What is needed is a bridge between the rarified scientific theories and the reader who would like to work on his own text-level analyses . . . something which allows those who cannot — or do not want to — undertake study of linguistic theory in a

---

2 Not to exclude linguists, and other students of language, of course.

university setting (and even were they to do so, what is the likelihood of finding someone to teach grammar discovery procedures, and the like?), to bring their considerable skills to the text with a high level of scientific integrity. Hebraists need to be provided with the tools of the trade, without requiring them to give up the trade to acquire them. It has been my goal, in this volume, to justify, and to make a beginning at, this effort; it has also been my goal to show that this task is not unmanageable, and that — even with a minimum of good text-linguistic theory — much can be discovered without undue mental gymnastics.

This, of course, will be easily recognisable as my *idée fixe*, my hobby-horse. The principles have been underlined time and again in this book: good theory — good methodology — good communication. Anything less does not constitute scholarship.

Fine, then. That god has been momentarily appeased. What can we say during the respite about specific areas of progress?

We have made much of Longacre's observations. His matrix of text-types and his verb-rank clines, are significant improvements. Others are also contributing. Much new material is coming out, which has the potential of radically changing the way Hebrew is perceived. This will require careful monitoring, of course; much can seem helpful that isn't. The most important measure of a description is how well does it deal with all the language, especially the difficult data.<sup>3</sup>

Loose ends in this study (and Longacre's as well) include: further work in identifying text-types, and their characteristics (especially Expository); further analysis of Reported Speech; examination of more texts with a view toward understanding specific functions of specific features;<sup>4</sup> and so on. Certain other endeavours should very likely be

---

3 I am aware that the final part of this work does not measure up well on this front; yet it does not purport to be a "description" — rather, it is very brief introduction to the application of one promising linguistic model. It should be evaluated as such.

4 I must stress, however, that studies like Khan's and Eskhult's will never be able to give us full answers. For this we need more studies of full texts, looking at stories, etc. as units, and describing the patterns which emerge as we compare hundreds of these to each other. Only then will we be able to see whether subordination (e.g.) has a specific text-level function, or whether יִי has a strong preference for episode-initial contexts.

undertaken only by those with an intimate knowledge of the language, and at least some awareness of linguistic methodology; these include: the question of text-linguistic features in poetic material; and, the question of text-linguistic features in formal language. Further to these, little has been done to examine syntax (micro- or macro-) in poetic material — O'Connor's Hebrew Verse Structure does this at the level of micro-syntax, but suffers from the same plague as do Andersen and Longacre in varying degrees and different ways — that is, it is so difficult to make sense of that it is off-putting; Watson's Classical Hebrew Poetry is easier to work with, but includes little real syntax.<sup>5</sup>

The fact that greater precision in text-linguistic description of Classical Hebrew is to be desired because such description is of value in and of itself, may be taken nearly for granted. The relevance of this increase in knowledge for other facets of biblical studies may not be so obvious.

Text-level analysis can contribute significantly to text exegesis: the results of our analysis of off-line clauses led us to propose that Judges 12.5.1 is marked as peak of the last episode of the story. It is easily overlooked that our interest in the pronunciation of the word Shibboleth would not necessarily have been shared by the earliest hearers of the account; text-linguistic research helps objectify such elements of the text-to-reader and reader-to-text relationships. In a different vein, a more thorough examination of the book of Ruth than we have been able to present in this work, allows us to trace, by way of peak marking, topic continuity and shifts, participant reference, and the deployment of tension-maintaining devices, the development, and organizing according to priority, of the themes and purposes of the book.

Text-linguistics may also contribute to text-critical discussions; assessment of emendations according to text-linguistic, in addition to other, criteria makes enormous sense.

---

<sup>5</sup> It has been observed to me by Professor J. C. L. Gibson that poetry appears to be governed *syntactically as well as "stylistically"* by parallelism [personal communication, 1992]; this feature may be a governing factor like the "embedding/cohesion" one which I allege controls first clauses in Reported Speech. Such hypotheses as these will require long and data-intensive study.

However, it is clear that the most immediate — if not the greatest — benefit from text-linguistic research will be for students and teachers of the language. In the same way that counting the number of cards in a deck to determine which — if any — are missing, is far easier if the cards are arranged in numerical order by suits, so also learning (and therefore teaching) any language is greatly simplified if its forms are systematised — all the more so if it is a dead language.<sup>6</sup> If the system of text-types were presented to students (I don't mean the theoretical parameters, but rather the simple existence of these text-types), and their associated main-line forms — this much, in one fell swoop, would give the learner a handle to begin sorting through the various distributions and functions of the Hebrew verb.<sup>7</sup>

We have endeavoured to convince the reader of this volume that text-linguistic analysis and description offers significant insights into the structure of the language, and the function of its forms. We have attempted as well to elucidate one model of text-linguistics which is at the same time relatively approachable, and exceptionally acute in the results it leads to. This was illustrated by applying this model in seven medium- to large-scale analyses of biblical texts. Although results from these analyses could not hope to be precise, they do in fact demonstrate the distinctive features of specific text-types, and confirm several of the hypotheses which were suggested by the model. This approach to the data allowed us as well to posit an alternative solution to the question of Narrative History (and other text-types) in Reported Speech, to that proposed in Niccacci's Syntax. Throughout this volume three basic concerns have remained constant: 1) a concern for the primacy of the data; 2) an insistence on good theory and methodology; and 3) a commitment to clear communication of results.

Text-linguistic analysis of Classical Hebrew, and other ancient languages, is still in

---

6 I am not a supporter of the inductive method of learning a dead language, as inductive learning requires a deep saturation in that language in order to bring lasting success — i.e., one must hear it without ceasing, and in all manner of contexts; this is, of course, denied students of Classical Hebrew, Ugaritic, Sanskrit, Latin, etc.

7 I recognise that this approach alone would not cover the material which a student needs to cover; however it is a very good starting point.

its early years; we can look forward to significant developments in the understanding of our texts as more of this research takes place.

	Judges
ויעל מלאך־יהוה מִן־הַגִּלְגַּל אֶל־הַבְּנִים	2.1.1
וַיֹּאמֶר	2
אֶעֱלֶה אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם	3
וְאֵכִיָּא אֶתְכֶם אֶל־הָאָרֶץ	4
אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לְאַבְתִּיכֶם	5
וַאֲמַר	6
“לֹא־אֶפְרַר בְּרִיתִי אֶתְכֶם לְעוֹלָם	7
“וְאַתֶּם לֹא־תִכְרְתוּ בְרִית לַיּוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת	2.1
“מִזְבְּחוֹתֵיהֶם תִּתְצוּן”	2
וְלֹא־שִׁמַּעְתֶּם בְּקִלִּי	3
מִהֲזֹאת עֲשִׂיתֶם	4
לֹא־אֶנְרִשׁ אֹתָם מִפְּנֵיהֶם	3.1
וְהָיוּ לָכֶם לְזֹרִים	2
וְאַל־הִיָּהֶם יְהִיוּ לָכֶם לְמוֹקֵשׁ	3
וַיְהִי כִּדְבַר מֶלֶאךְ יְהוָה אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה	4.1a
אֶל־כָּל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	b
וַיִּשְׁאוּ הָעָם אֶת־קוֹלָם	2
וַיִּבְכּוּ	3
וַיִּקְרְאוּ שֵׁם־הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא בְּנִים	5.1
וַיִּזְבְּחוּ שֵׁם לַיהוָה	2
וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת־הָעָם	6.1
וַיִּלְכוּ בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ לְנַחֲלָתוֹ לְרִשְׁתִּי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ	2
וַיַּעֲבְדוּ הָעָם אֶת־יְהוָה כָּל יְמֵי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל יְמֵי	7.1a
הַזְּקֵנִים	b
אֲשֶׁר הָאֵרִיכוּ יָמִים אַחֲרֵי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ	2
אֲשֶׁר רָאוּ אֶת כָּל־מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה	3a

הגדול	b
אשר עשה לישראל	4
וימת יהושע בן־נון עבר יהוה בן־מאת ועשר שנים	8.1
ויקברו אותו בגבול נחלתו בתמנת־חרס בדר	9.1a
אפרים מצפון לדר־גוש	b
וגם כל־הדור ההוא נאספו אל־אבותיו	10.1
ויקם דור אחר אחריהם	2
אשר לא־ידעו את־יהוה וגם את־	3a
המעשה	b
אשר עשה לישראל	4
ויעשו בני־ישראל את־הדע בעיני יהוה	11.1
ויעברו הבעלים	2
ויעזבו את־יהוה אלהי אבותם המציא אותם מארץ	12.1a
מצרים	b
וילכו אחרי אלהים אחרים מאלהים העמים	2
אשר סביבותיהם	3
ושתחוו להם	4
ויכעסו את־יהוה	5
ויעזבו את־יהוה	13.1
ויעברו לבעל ולעשתרות	2
וידר־אף יהוה בישראל	14.1
ויתנם ביד־שסים	2
וישסו אותם	3
וימכרם ביד אויביהם מסביב	4
ולא־יכלו עוד לעמד לפני אויביהם	5
בכל +++++ יד־יהוה היתה־בם לרעה	15.1
אשר יצאו	2
כאשר דבר יהוה	3

וכאשר נשבע יהוה להם	4
ויצר להם מאד	5
ויקם יהוה שפטים	16.1
ויושעו מיד שסיהם	2
וגם אל־שפטיהם לא שמעו	17.1
כִּי־זנו אחרי אלהים אחרים	2
וישתחוּ להם	3
סרו מן־הדרך	4
אשר־הלכו אבותם לשמע מצות־	5a
יהוה	b
לא־עשו כן	6
[ . . . ]	18.1
וכי הקים יהוה להם שפטים	2
והיה יהוה עס־השפט	3
והושיעם מיד איביהם כל ימי	4a
השופט	b
כי ינחם יהוה מנאקתם מפני	5a
לחציהם ורחקיהם	b
והיה כמות השופט	19.1
והשחיתו מאבותם ללכת אחרי אלהים אחריהם	2a
לעבדם ולהשתחות להם	b
לא הפילו ממעלליהם ומדרכם הקשה	3
ויחר־אף יהוה בישראל	20.1
ויאמר	2
+++++ גם־אני לא אוסיף להוריש איש מפניהם מן־	21.1a
הגוים +++++	b
+++ יען אשר עברו הגוי הזה את־בריתי	20.3



אשר צויתי את־אבותם	4
ולא שמעו לקולי ++	5
+++ אשר־עזב יהושע	21.2
וימת +++	3
למען נסות בה את־ישראל השמרים הם	22.1a
את־דרך יהוה ללכת	b
כאשר שמרו אבותם	2
אם־לא	3
וינח יהוה את־הגוים האלה לבלתי חזישם מחד	23.1
ולא־נתנם ביד־יהושע	2

APPENDIX TWO: SAMPLES FROM THE EXODUS TEXTS ON THE BUILDING OF  
THE TABERNACLE (Exodus 25-40) IN COLUMNAR FORMAT.

Pericope A:

		Exodus	
ויעש בצלאל את־הארן עצי	37.1.1a	ויעשו ארון עצי שטים	25.10.1
שטים	b		
אמתים וחצי ארכו	2	אמתים וחצי ארכו	2
ואמה וחצי רחבו	3	ואמה וחצי רחבו	3
ואמה וחצי קמתו	4	ואמה וחצי קמתו	4
ויצפהו זהב טהור מבית	2.1a	וצפת אתו זהב טהור	11.1
ומחויץ	b		
		מבית ומחויץ תצפנו	2
ויעש לו זר זהב סביב	2	ועשית עליו זר זהב סביב	3
ויצק לו ארבע טבעת זהב על	3.1a	ויצקו לו ארבע טבעת זהב	12.1
ארבע פעמתיז	b		
		ונתתה על ארבע פעמתיז	2
ושתי טבעת על־צלעו האחת	2	ושתי טבעת על־צלעו האחת	3
ושתי טבעות על־צלעו השנית	3	ושתי על־צלעו השנית	4
ויעש בדי עצי שטים	4.1	ועשית בדי עצי שטים	13.1
ויצף אתם זהב	2	וצפית אתם זהב	2
ויבא את הברדים בטבעת על	5.1a	והבאת את־הברדים בטבעת על	14.1a
צלעת הארן לשאת את־	b	צלעת הארן לשאת את־	b
הארן	c	הארן בהם	c
		בטבעת הארן יהיו הברדים	15.1
		לא יסרו ממנו	2
		ונתת אל־הארן את הערת	16.1
		אשר אתן אליך	2
ויעש כפרת זהב טהור	6.1	ועשית כפרת זהב טהור	17.1
אמתים וחצי ארכה	2	אמתים וחצי ארכה	2
ואמה וחצי רחבה	3	ואמה וחצי רחבה	3
ויעש שני כרבים זהב	7.1	ועשית שנים כרבים זהב	18.1
מקשה עשה אתם משני קצות	2a	מקשה תעשה אתם משני	2a
הכפרת	b	קצות הכפרת	b
כרוב־אחד מקצה מזה וכרוב־	8.1a	ועשה כרוב אחד מקצה מזה	19.1a
אחד מקצה מזה	b	וכרוב־אחד מקצה מזה מן־	b
		הכפרת	c
מן־הכפרת עשה את־הכרבים	2a	תעשו את־הכרבים על־שני	2a
משני קצותיו [קצותיו]	b	קצותיו	b

ויהיו הכרבים פרשי כנפים	9.1a	והיו הכרבים פרשי כנפים	20.1a
למעלה	b	למעלה	b
ופניהם איש אל־אחיו	2	ופניהם איש אל־אחיו	2
אל־הכפרת היו פני הכרבים	3	אל־הכפרת יהיו פני הכרבים	3
		ונתת את־הכפרת על־הארץ	21.1a
		למעלה	b
		ואל־הארץ תתן את־הערת	2
		אשר אתן אליך	3
		ונועדתי לך שם	22.1
		ורברתי אתך מעל הכפרת	2a
		מבין שני הכרבים +++++	b
		את כל־	c
		+++ אשר על־ארץ	3a
		הערת +++	b
		אשר אצוה אותך אל־בני	4a
		ישראל	b
Pericope B:			
ויעש שלחן עצי שטים	37.10.1	ועשית שלחן עצי שטים	25.23.1
אמתים ארכו	2	אמתים ארכו	2
ואמה רחבו	3	ואמה רחבו	3
ואמה וחצי קמתו	4	ואמה וחצי קמתו	4
ויצף אתו זה טהור	11.1	וצפת אתו זה טהור	24.1
ויעש לו זר זהב סביב	2	ועשית לו זר זהב סביב	2
ויעש לו מסגרת טפח סביב	12.1	ועשית לו מסגרת טפח סביב	25.1
ויעש זר־זהב למסגרתו סביב	2	ועשית זר־זהב למסגרתו סביב	2
ויעש לו ארבע טבעת זהב	13.1	ועשית לו ארבע טבעת זהב	26.1
ויתן את־הטבעת על ארבע	2a	ונתת את־הטבעת על ארבע	2a
הפאת	b	הפאת	b
אשר לארבע רגליו	3	אשר לארבע רגליו	3
לעמט המגרת היו הטבעת	14.1a	לעמט המגרת תהיין הטבעת	27.1a
בתים לברדים לשאת את־	b	לבתים לברדים לשאת את־	b
השלחן	c	השלחן	c
ויעש את־הברדים עצי שטים	15.1	ועשית את־הברדים עצי שטים	28.1
ויצף אתם זהב לשאת את־	2a	וצפית אתם זהב	2
השלחן	b		

		ונשא־בם את־השלחן	3
ויעש את־הכלים +++++ את־	16.1a	ועשית קערתיז וכפתיו	29.1a
קערתיז ואת־כפתיו ואת	b	וקשותיו ומנקיתיו	b
מנקיתיו ואת־הקשות +++++	c		
זהב טהור	d		
+++ אשר על־השלחן +++	2		
+++ אשר יסך בהן +++	3		
		ונתת על־השלחן לחם פנים	30.1a
		לפני תמיד	b
Pericope C:			
ויעש את־המנרה זהב טהור	37.17.1	ועשית מנרת זהב טהור	25.31.1
מקשה עשה את־המנרה ירכה	2a	מקשה תעשה המנורה ירכה	2a
וקנה	b	וקנה	b
גביעה כפתריה ופרחיה	3a	גביעה כפתריה ופרחיה	3a
ממנה היו	b	ממנה יהיו	b
וששה קנים יצאים מצשיה	18.1	וששה קנים יצאים מצדיה	32.1
שלישה קני מנרה מצדה	2	שלישה קני מנרה מצדה	2
האחד	b	האחד	b
ושלישה קני מנרה מצדה	3a	ושלישה קני מנרה מצדה	3a
השני	b	השני	b
שלישה גבעים משקרים	19.1a	שלישה גבעים משקרים	33.1a
בקנה האחד כפתר ופרח	b	בקנה האחד כפתר ופרח	b
ושלישה גבעים משקרים	2a	ושלישה גבעים משקרים	2a
בקנה האחד כפתר ופרח	b	בקנה האחד כפתר ופרח	b
כן לששה הקנים היצאים מן־	3a	כן לששה הקנים היצאים מן־	3a
המנרה	b	המנרה	b
ובמנרה ארבעה גבעים	20.1a	ובמנרה ארבעה גבעים	34.1a
משקרים כפתריה ופרחיה	b	משקרים כפתריה ופרחיה	b
וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	21.1	וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	35.1
וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	2	וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	2
וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	3	וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	3a
לששה הקנים היצאים	b	לששה הקנים היצאים מן־	b
ממנה	c	המנרה	c
כפתריהם וקנתם ממנה היו	22.1a	כפתריהם וקנתם ממנה יהיו	36.1a
כלה מקשה אחת זהב טהור	b	כלה מקשה אחת זהב טהור	b
ויעש את־נרתיה שבעה	23.1	ועשית את־נרתיה שבעה	37.1
		והעלה את־נרתיה	2
		והאיר על־עבר פניה	3

ומלקחיה ומחתתיה זהב טהור	2	ומלקחיה ומחתתיה זהב טהור	38.1
כבר זהב טהור יעשה אתה	24.1a	כבר זהב טהור יעשה אתה	39.1a
את כל־הכלים האלה	b	את כל־הכלים האלה	b
		וראה	40.1
		ועשה בתבניותם	2
		אשר־אתה מראה בהר	3
Pericope D:			
ויעשו כל־חכם־לב בעשי	36.8.1a	ואת־המשכן תעשה עשר	26.1.1a
המלאכה את־המשכן עשר	b	יריעת שש משור ותכלת	b
יריעת שש משור ותכלת	c	וארגמן ותלעת שני	c
וארגמן ותלעת שני	d		
כרבים מעשה חשב	2a	כרבים מעשה חשב	2a
עשה אתם	b	תעשה אתם	b
ארך היריעה האחת שמנה	9.1a	ארך היריעה האחת שמנה	2.1
ועשרים באמה	b	ועשרים באמה	b
ורחב ארבע באמה	2	ורחב ארבע באמה	2
היריעה האחת מדה אחת	3a	היריעה האחת מדה אחת	3a
לכל־היריעת	b	לכל־היריעת	b
ויחבר את־חמש היריעת אחת	10.1a	חמש היריעה תהיין הברת	3.1a
אל־אחת	b	אשה אל־אחתה	b
וחמש היריעת חבר אחת	2a	וחמש היריעה חברת אשה	2a
אל־אחת	b	אל־אחתה	b
ויעש ללאת תכלת על שפת	11.1a	ועשית ללאת תכלת על שפת	4.1a
היריעה האחת מקצה	b	היריעה האחת מקצה	b
במחברת	c	במחברת	c
כן עשה בשפת היריעה	2a	וכן תעשה בשפת היריעה	2a
הקיצונה במחברת השנית	b	הקיצונה במחברת השנית	b
חמשים ללאת עשה ביריעה האחת	12.1	חמשים ללאת תעשה ביריעה האחת	5.1
וחמשים ללאת עשה בקצה	2a	וחמשים ללאת תעשה בקצה	2a
היריעה +++++ מקבילת	b	היריעה +++++ מקבילת	b
הללאת אשה אל־אחתה	c	הללאת אשה אל־אחתה	c
+++ אשר במחברת השנית	3	+++ אשר במחברת השנית	3
ויעש חמשים קרסי זהב	13.1	ועשית חמשים קרסי זהב	6.1
ויחבר את־היריעת אחת אל־	2a	וחברת את־היריעת אשה אל־	2a
אחת בקרסים	b	אחתה בקרסים	b
ויהי המשכן אחד	3	והיה המשכן אחד	3
ויעש יריעת עזים לאהל על־	14.1a	ועשית יריעת עזים לאהל על־	7.1a
המשכן	b	המשכן	b

עֲשֵׂתִי־עֲשֵׂי יִרְעֵת תַּעֲשֶׂה	2a	עֲשֵׂתִי־עֲשֵׂי יִרְעֵת תַּעֲשֶׂה	2a
אַתָּם	b	אַתָּם	b
אֶרֶךְ הִירֵעָה הָאֶחָת שְׁלֹשִׁים	15.1a	אֶרֶךְ הִירֵעָה הָאֶחָת שְׁלֹשִׁים	8.1a
בָּאֵמָה	b	בָּאֵמָה	b
וּרְחֹב אַרְבַּע בָּאֵמָה	2	וּרְחֹב אַרְבַּע בָּאֵמָה	2
הִירֵעָה הָאֶחָת מִדֶּר אֶחָת	3a	הִירֵעָה הָאֶחָת מִדֶּר אֶחָת	3a
לַעֲשֹׂתִי עֲשֶׂרָה יִרְעָה	b	לַעֲשֹׂתִי עֲשֶׂרָה יִרְעָה	b
וַיַּחֲבֵר אֶת־חֲמֹשׁ הִירֵעֵת לְבָר	16.1a	וַחֲבֵרֵת אֶת־חֲמֹשׁ הִירֵעֵת לְבָר	9.1a
וְאֶת־שֵׁשׁ הִירֵעֵת לְבָר	b	וְאֶת־שֵׁשׁ הִירֵעֵת לְבָר	b
		וּכְפֹלֶת אֶת־הִירֵעָה הַשְּׁשִׁית	2a
		אֶל־מוֹל פְּנֵי הָאֹחֵל	b
וַיַּעַשׂ לִלְאֵת חֲמִשִּׁים עַל שֹׁפֵת הִירֵעָה	17.1a	וַעֲשִׂית חֲמִשִּׁים לִלְאֵת עַל שֹׁפֵת הִירֵעָה	10.1a
הַקִּיצָנָה בַּמַּחֲבֵרֶת וְחֲמִשִּׁים לִלְאֵת	b	הָאֶחָת הַקִּיצָנָה בַּחֲבֵרֶת וְחֲמִשִּׁים לִלְאֵת	b
עַל שֹׁפֵת הִירֵעָה הַחֲבֵרֶת הַשְּׁנִיָּה	c	עַל שֹׁפֵת הִירֵעָה הַחֲבֵרֶת הַשְּׁנִיָּה	c
וַיַּעַשׂ קְרָסִי נְחֹשֶׁת חֲמִשִּׁים	18.1a	וַעֲשִׂית קְרָסִי נְחֹשֶׁת חֲמִשִּׁים	11.1
		וְהִבֵּאת אֶת־הַקְּרָסִים בְּלִלְאֵת	2
לַחֲבֵר אֶת־הָאֹחֵל לִהְיֹת אֶחָד	b	וְחֵבֵרֵת אֶת־הָאֹחֵל	3
		וְהִיָּה אֶחָד	4
		וּסְרַח הָעֶרֶף בִּירֵעֵת הָאֹחֵל חֲצִי הִירֵעָה	12.1a
		הָעֶרֶפֶת תִּסְרַח עַל אַחֲרֵי הַמִּשְׁכָּן	b
		וְהָאֵמָה מִזֶּה וְהָאֵמָה מִזֶּה בָּעֶרֶף בְּאֶרֶךְ	13.1a
		יִרְעֵת הָאֹחֵל יִהְיֶה סְרוּחַ עַל־צִדִּי	b
		הַמִּשְׁכָּן מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה לְכַסְתּוֹ	c
וַיַּעַשׂ מִכְסֵּה לָאֹחֵל עֶרֶת אֵילִם	19.1a	וַעֲשִׂית מִכְסֵּה לָאֹחֵל עֶרֶת	14.1a
מֵאֲדָמִים וּמִכְסֵּה עֶרֶת	b	אֵילִם מֵאֲדָמִים וּמִכְסֵּה עֶרֶת	b
תַּחֲשִׁים מִלְּמַעֲלָה	c	תַּחֲשִׁים מִלְּמַעֲלָה	c
וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת־הַקְּרָשִׁים לְמִשְׁכָּן	20.1a	וַעֲשִׂית אֶת־הַקְּרָשִׁים לְמִשְׁכָּן	15.1a
עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים עֲמֻדִים	b	עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים עֲמֻדִים	b
עֶשֶׂר אֲמוֹת אֶרֶךְ הַקֶּרֶשׁ	21.1	עֶשֶׂר אֲמוֹת אֶרֶךְ הַקֶּרֶשׁ	16.1
וְאֵמָה וְחֲצִי הָאֵמָה רָחֹב הַקֶּרֶשׁ הָאֶחָת	2	וְאֵמָה וְחֲצִי הָאֵמָה רָחֹב הַקֶּרֶשׁ הָאֶחָת	2
שְׁתֵּי יֹדֹת לְקֶרֶשׁ הָאֶחָד מִשְׁלֹבֶת אֵשֶׁה	22.1a	שְׁתֵּי יֹדֹת לְקֶרֶשׁ הָאֶחָד מִשְׁלֹבֶת אֵשֶׁה	17.1a
אֶל־אֶחָתָהּ	b	אֶל־אֶחָתָהּ	b
בֶּן עֹשֶׂה לְכָל קְרָשֵׁי הַמִּשְׁכָּן	2	בֶּן תַּעֲשֶׂה לְכָל קְרָשֵׁי הַמִּשְׁכָּן	2
וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת־הַקְּרָשִׁים לְמִשְׁכָּן עֲשָׂרִים	23.1a	וַעֲשִׂית אֶת־הַקְּרָשִׁים לְמִשְׁכָּן עֲשָׂרִים	18.1a
קְרָשִׁים לִפְאֵת נֹגֵב תִּימָנָה	b	קֶרֶשׁ לִפְאֵת נֹגֵבָה תִּימָנָה	b
וְאַרְבַּעִים אֲדָנִי־כֶסֶף עֹשֶׂה תַּחַת עֲשָׂרִים	24.1a	וְאַרְבַּעִים אֲדָנִי־כֶסֶף תַּעֲשֶׂה תַּחַת עֲשָׂרִים	19.1a
הַקְּתָשִׁים שְׁנֵי אֲדָנִים תַּחַת־הַקֶּרֶשׁ	b	הַקְּתָשִׁים שְׁנֵי אֲדָנִים תַּחַת־הַקֶּרֶשׁ	b
הָאֶחָד לִשְׁתֵּי יֹדְתָיו וְשְׁנֵי אֲדָנִים	c	הָאֶחָד לִשְׁתֵּי יֹדְתָיו וְשְׁנֵי אֲדָנִים	c
תַּחַת־הַקֶּרֶשׁ הָאֶחָד לִשְׁתֵּי יֹדְתָיו	e	תַּחַת־הַקֶּרֶשׁ הָאֶחָד לִשְׁתֵּי יֹדְתָיו	e
וּלְצֹלַע הַמִּשְׁכָּן הַשְּׁנִיָּה לִפְאֵת צִפּוֹן	25.1a	וּלְצֹלַע הַמִּשְׁכָּן הַשְּׁנִיָּה לִפְאֵת צִפּוֹן	20.1f
עֹשֶׂה עֲשָׂרִים קְרָשׁ	b	עֲשָׂרִים קֶרֶשׁ	g

ואבעים ארניהם כסף שני ארנים	26.1c	ואבעים ארניהם כסף שני ארנים	21.1h
תחת הקרש האחר ושני ארנים	d	תחת הקרש האחר ושני ארנים תחת	i
הקרש האחר	e	הקרש האחר	j
ולירכתי המשכן ימה תעשה ששה קרשים	27.1	ולירכתי המשכן ימה תעשה ששה קרשים	22.1
ושני קרשים תעשה למקצעת המשכן	28.1a	ושני קרשים תעשה למקצעת המשכן	23.1a
בירכתיים	b	בירכתיים	b
ויהיו תאמים מלמטה	29.1	ויהיו [ ויהיו pc Mss Sam. Pent., ]	24.1a
		תאמים מלמטה	b
ויחדו יהיו [ היו mlt mss, ] תמים ע	2a	ויחדו יהיו תמים על־ראשו	2a
ראשו אל־הטבעת האחת	b	אל־הטבעת האחת	b
בן עשה לשניהם לשני	3a	בן יהיה לשניהם	3
המקצעת	b	לשני המקצעת יהיו	4
והיו שמנה קרשים וארניהם	30.1a	והיו שמנה קרשים וארניהם	25.1a
כסף ששה עשר ארנים שני	b	כסף ששה עשר ארנים שני	b
ארנים שני ארנים תחת	c	ארנים תחת הקרש האחר	c
הקרש האחר	d	ושני ארנים תחת הקרש האחר	d
ויעש בריהו עצי ששים המשה	31.1a	ועשית בריהם עצי ששים המשה	26.1a
חמשה לקרשי צלע־המשכן האחד	b	חמשה לקרשי צלע־המשכן האחד	b
וחמשה בריהם לקרשי	32.1c	וחמשה בריהם לקרשי	27.1c
צלע־המשכן השנית וחמשה	d	צלע־המשכן השנית וחמשה	d
בריהם לקרשי המשכן	e	בריהם לקרשי צלע המשכן	e
לירכתיים ימה	f	לירכתיים ימה	f
ויעש את־הבריה התיכון לברח	33.1a	והבריה התיכון בתוך הקרשים	28.1a
בתוך הקרשים מן־הקצה	b	מברח מן־הקצה אל־הקצה	b
אל־הקצה	c		
ואת־הקרשים צפה זהב	34.1	ואת־הקרשים תצפה זהב	29.1
ואת־טבעתם עשה זהב בתים	2a	ואת־טבעתיהם תעשה זהב	2a
לבריהם	b	בתים לבריהם	b
ויצף את־הבריהם זהב	3	וצפית את־הבריהם זהב	3
		והקמת את־המשכן כמשפטו	30.1
		אשר הראית בהר	2
Pericope E:			
ויעש את־הפרכת תכלת	36.35.1a	ועשית פרכת תכלת וארגמן	26.31.1a
וארגמן ותולעת שני ושש	b	ותולעת שני ושש משור	b
משור	c		
מעשה חשב עשה אתה	2a	מעשה חשב יעשה אתה	2a
כרבים	b	כרבים	b
ויעש לה ארבעה עמודי שטים	36.1	ונתתה אתה על־ארבעה עמודי	32.1a
ויצפם זהב	2	שטים מצפים זהב וויהם	b

וזהב	3	זהב על־ארבעה ארני־כסף	c
ויצק להם ארבעה ארני־כסף	4		
		ונתתה את־הפרכת תחת הקרסים	33.1
		והבאת שמה מבית לפרכת את	2a
		ארון העדות	b
		והבדילה הפרכת לכם בין	3a
		הקדש ובין קדש הקדשים	b
		ונתת את־הכפרת על ארון	34.1a
		הערת בקדש הקדשים	b
		ושמת את־השלחן מחוץ	35.1a
		לפרכת ואת־המנרה נכח	b
		השלכן על צלע המשכן תימנה	c
		והשלחן תתן ול־צלע צפון	2
ויעש מסך לפתח האהל תכלת	37.1a	ועשית מסך לפתח האהל	36.1a
וארגמן ותולעת שני ושש	b	תכלת וארגמן ותולעת שני	b
ושש משור מעשה רקם	c	ושש משור מעשה רקם	c
ואת־עמודיו חמשה ואת־ווייהם	38.1d	ועשית למסך חמשה עמודי שטים	37.1
וצפת ראשיהם	2	וצפית אתם זהב	2
וחשקהם זהב	3	ווייהם זהב	3
וארניהם חמשה נחשת	4	ויצקת להם חמשה ארני נחשת	4
Pericope F:			
ויעש את־מזבח הולה עצי שטים	38.1.1a	ועשית את־המזבח עצי שטים	27.1.1
חמש אמות ארכו	2	חמש אמות ארכו	2
וחמש־אמות רחבו	3	וחמש אמות רחבו	3
רבוע	4	רבוע יהיה המזבח	4
ושלש אמות קמתו	5	ושלש אמות קמתו	5
ויעש קרנתיו על ארבע פנתיו	2.1	ועשית קרנתיו על ארבע פנתיו	2.1
ממנו היו קרנתיו	2	ממנו תהיין קרנתיו	2
ועצף אתו נחשת	3	וצפית אתו נחשת	3
ויעש את־כל־כלי המזבח את־	3.1a	ועשית סירתיו לרשנו ויעיו	3.1a
הסירת ואת־היעיו ואת־	b	ומזרקתיו ומזלגתיו ומחתתיו	b
המזרקת [ו]את־המזלגת	c		
ואת־המחתת	d		
כל־כליו עשה נחשת	2	לכל־כליו תעשה נחשת	2
ויעש למזבח מכבר מעשה רשת נח	4.1a	ועשית לו מכבר מעשה רשת נחשת	4.1a
תחת כרכבו מלמטה ער־חציו	b		
ויצק ארבע טבעת בארבע תקצות	5.1a	ועשית על־הרשת ארבע טבעת	2a
למכבר הנחשת בתים לבדים	b	נחשת על ארבע קצותיו	b
		ונתתה אתה תחת כרכב	5.1a
		המזבח מלמטה	b
		והיתה הרשת עד חצי המזבח	2a



ועשית בדים למזבח ברי עצי שטים	6.1	ויעש את־בדים עצי שטים	6.1
וצפית אתם נחשת	2	ויצף אתם נחשת	2
והובא את־בדיו בטבעת	7.1	ויבא את־הבדים טבעת על	7.1a
והיו הבדים על־שתי צלעת	2a	זלעת המזבח לשאת אתו	b
המזבח בשאת אתו	b		
נכוב לחת תעשה אתו	8.1	נכוב לחת עשה אתו	2
+++++ כן יעשו	2		
+++ כאשר הראה אתך	3a		
בהר +++	b		
Pericope G:			
ועשית את חצר המשכן	27.9.1	ויעש את־החצר	38.9.1
לפאת נגב־תימנה קלעים לחצר שש	2a	לפאת נגב תימנה קלעי החצר	2a
משור מאת באמה ארך לפאה האחת	b	שש משור מאת באמה	b
ועמדיו עשרים	10.1	עמודיהם עשרים	10.1
ואדניהם עשרים	2	ואדניהם עשרים	2
נחשת	3	נחשת	3
ווי העמדים וחשקיהם כסף	4	ווי העמדים וחשקיהם כסף	4
וכן לפאת צפון בארך קלעים מאת ארך	11.1	ולפא צפון מאת באמה	11.1
ועמדיו עשרים	2	עמודיהם עשרים	2
ואדניהם עשרים	3	ואדניהם עשרים	3
נחשת	4	נחשת	4
ווי העמדים וחשקיהם כסף	5	ווי העמדים וחשקיהם כסף	5
ורחב החצר לפאת־יים קלעים חמשים	12.1a	ולפאת־יים קלעים חמשים באמה	12.1a
אמה	b		
עמודיהם עשרים	2	עמודיהם עשרים	2
ואדניהם עשרים	3	ואדניהם עשרים	3
ורחב החצר לפאת פרמה מארחה	13.1a	ולפאת פרמה מורחה חמשים אמה	13.1a
חמשים אמה	b		
וחמש עשרה אמה קלעים לכתף	14.1	קלעים חמש־עשרה אמה אל־לכת	14.1
עמדיהם שלשה	2	עמודיהם שלשה	2
ואדניהם שלשה	3	ואדניהם שלשה	3
ולכתף השנית חמש עשרה	15.1a	ולכתף השנית מזה ומזה לשער ה	15.1
קלעים	b	קלעים חמש עשרה אמה	b
עמדיהם שלשה	2	עמדיהם שלשה	3
ואדניהם שלשה	3	ואדניהם שלשה	4
כל־קלעי החצר סביב שש משור	16.1	כל־קלעי החצר סביב שש משור	16.1
והאדנים לעמדים נחשת	17.1	והאדנים לעמדים נחשת	17.1
ווי העמדים וחשקיהם כסף	2	ווי העמדים וחשקיהם כסף	2

וצפנו ראשיהם כסף	3		
והם מחשקים כסף כל אמרי החצר	4		
ומסך שער החצר מעשה רקם	18.1a	ולישער החצר מסך עשרים אמה תכלת	16.1a
תכלת וארגמן ותולעת שני	b	וארגמן ותולעת שני ושש משור	b
ושש משור	c	מעשה רקם	c
ועשרים אמה ארך	2		
וקומה ברחב חמש אמות לעמת	3a		
קלעי החצר	b		
עמדיהם ארבעה	19.1	עמדיהם ארבעה	2
ואדניהם ארבעה	2	ואדניהם ארבעה	3
נחשת	3		
		כל-עמודי החצר סביב מחשקים כסף	17.1
ווייהם כסף	4	ווייהם כסף	2
וצפוי ראשיהם וחשקיהם כסף	5		
		ואדניהם נחשת	3
		ארך החצר מאה באמה	18.1
		ורחב חמשים בחמשים	2
		וקמה חמש אמות	3
		[ . . . ] שש משור	4
		ואדניהם נחשת	5
וכל-היתדות למשכן ולחצר	20.1a	לכל בלי המשכן בכל עברתו וכל-	19.1a
סביב נחשת	b	יתדתיו החצר נחשת	b

APPENDIX THREE: THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF RUTH IN  
COLUMNAR FORMAT.

	Ruth
ויהי בימי שפט השפטים	1.1.1
ויהי רעב בארץ	2
וילך איש מבית לחם יהודה לגור	3a
בשרי מואב הוא ואשתו ושני בניו	b
ושם האיש אלימלך	2.1
ושם אשתו נעמי	2
ושם שני־בניו מחלון וכליון	3
אפרתים מבית ל <del>א</del> ם יהודה	4 /ח
ויבאו שרי־מואב	5
ויהיו־שם	6
וימת אלימלך איש נעמי	3.1
ותשאר היא ושני בניה	2
וישאו להם נשים מאכיות	4.1
שם האחת ערפה	2
ושם השנית רות	3
וישבו שם כעשר שנים	4
וימותו גם־שניהם מחלון וכליון	5.1
ותשאר האשה משני ילדיה ומאישה	2
ותקם היא וכלתיה	6.1
ותשב משרי מואב	2
כי שמעה בשרי מואב	3
כי־פקד יהוה את־עמו לתת	4a
להם לחם	b
ותצא מן־המקום	7.1
אשר היתה־שמה	2
ושתי כלתיה עמה	3
ותלכנה בדרך לשוב אל־ארץ יהודה	4
ותאמר נעמי לשתי כלתיה	8.1
לכנה	2
שבנה אשה לבית אמה	3
יעשה יהוה עמכם חסד	4

באשר עשיתם עֲסֵד־מַתִּים ועֲמָדִי	5
יִתֵּן יְהוָה לָכֶם	9.1
וּמִצָּאֵן מְנוּחָה אִשָּׁה בֵּית אִשָּׁה	2
וּתְשַׁקְּ לָהֶן	3
וּתְשַׁאנֶּה קוֹלָן	4
וּתְבַבִּינָה	5
וּתְאֻמְרֶנָּה־לָהּ	10.1
+++++ [ . . . ]	2
+++ כִּי אַתָּךְ נָשׁוּב לַעֲמָךְ +++	3
וּתְאֻמְרֶנָּה נְעָמִי	11.1
שְׁבִנָּה בְּנָתִי	2
לִמָּה תִּלְכְּנָה עָמִי	3
הַעוֹד־לִי בָנִים בְּמַעִי	4
וְהִיוּ לָכֶם לְאֻנְשִׁים	5
שְׁבִנָּה בְּנָתִי	12.1
לִבִּן	2
כִּי זָקַנְתִּי מִדְּיוֹת לְאִישׁ	3
כִּי אִמְרָתִי	4
יִשְׂרָאֵלִי תִקְוָה	5
גַּם הָיִיתִי חֲלִילָה לְאִישׁ	6
וְגַם יִלְדָתִי בָנִים	7
חָלַחַן תִּשְׁבְּרָנָה	13.1
עַד אֲשֶׁר יִגְדְּלוּ	2
חָלַחַן תִּעֲנֶנָּה לְבִלְתִּי הָיוֹת לְאִישׁ	3
אֵל בְּנָתִי	4
כִּי־מִדְּלִי מֵאֵד מִכֶּם	5

ותִּשְׁנָה קוֹלָן	14.1
ותִּבְכֶּינָה עוֹד	2
ותִּשְׁקַע עֶרְפָּה לַחֲמוֹתָהּ	3
<ותִּשְׁבֵּא אֶל־עַמָּה [LXX]>	4
וּרְוֹת דְּבַקָּה בָּהּ	5
ותֹאמַר	15.1
הִנֵּה	2
יֹשְׁבָה יִבְמַתְךָ אֶל־עַמָּה וְאֶל־אֱלֹהֶיהָ	3
שׁוֹבִי אַחֲרַי יִבְמַתְךָ	4
ותֹאמַר רוֹת	16.1
אֶל־תִּפְגַּעֵי־כִי לַעֲזוֹבֵךְ לָשׁוּב מֵאַחֲרֶיךָ	2
כִּי +++++ אֵלֶיךָ	3
+++ אֶל־אֲשֶׁר תִּלְכִּי +++	4
+++++ אֵלַיִן	5
+++ וּבְאִשֶּׁר תִּלְיִנִי +++	6
עִמָּךְ עַמִּי	7
וְאֱלֹהֶיךָ אֱלֹהֵי	8
+++++ אֲמוֹת	17.1
+++ בְּאִשֶּׁר תִּמּוֹתִי +++	2
וְשֵׁם אֶקְבֹּר	3
כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה לִי	4
וְכֹה יִסָּף	5
כִּי חֲמוֹת יִפְרִיד בֵּינִי וּבֵינֶךָ	6
ותִּרְאֵא	18.1
כִּי־מִתְאַמֶּצֶת הִיא לִלְכֹּת אֶתָּה	2

ותחדל לדבר אליה	3	
ותלכנה שתיהם <הן> עד־באנה בית	19.1a	
לחם	b	
ויהי כבאנה בית לחם	2	
ותהם כל־העיר עליהן	3	
ותאמרנה	4	
הואת נעמי	7	
ותאמר אליהן	20.1	
אל־תקראנה לי נעמי	2	
קראן לי מיא	3	
כי המר שדי לי מאד	4	
אני מלאה הלכתי	21.1	
וריקם השיבני יהוה	2	
למה תקראנה לי נעמי	3	
ויהוה ענה בי	4	
ושדי הרע לי	5	
ותשב נעמי	22.1	
ורות המואביה כלתה עמה השבה	2a	
משדי מואב	b	
והמה באו בית לחם בתחלת קיור	3a	
שערים	b	
ולנעמי מידע <מורע ק'> לאישה	2.1.1a	
איש גבור חיל ממשפחת אלימלך	b	
ושמו בעז	2	
ותאמר רות המואביה אל־נעמי	2.1	
אלכה־נא השרה	2	
ואלקמה בשבלים	3	
אחר אשר אמצא־הן בעיניו	4	
ותאמר לה	5	
לכי בתי	6	

ותלך	3.1
ותבוא	2
ותלקט בשרה אחרי הקצרים	3
ויקך מקרה הלכת השרה לבעז	4
אשר ממשפחת אלימלך	5
והנהיבעז בא מבית לחם	4.1
ויאמר לקוצרים	2
יהוה עמכם	3
ויאמר לו	4
יברכך יהוה	5
ויאמר בעז לנערו הנצב עליהקצרים	5.1
למי הנערה הזאת	2
ויען הנער הנצב אליהקצרים	6.1
ויאמר	2
נערה מואבית היא השבה עס־נעמי	3a
משרי מואב	a
ותאמר	7.1
אלקטה־נא	2
ואספתי בעמרים אחר הקוצרים	3
ותבוא	4
ותעמוד מאז הבקר ועד־עתה	5
זה שבתה הבית מעט <cf. LXX> ועד־	6a
עתה לא־שבתה בשרה מעט	b
ויאמר בעז אלירות	8.1
הלוא שמעת בתי	2
אל־תלכי ללקט בשרה אחר	3
וגם לא תעבורי מזה	4

וכה תדבקין עם-נערתִי	5
עינעך בשרה	9.1
אשר-תקצרון	2
וחלבת אחריהם	3
הלוא צויתי את-הנערים לבלתי נגעך	4
וצמת	5
וחלבת אל-הכלים	6
ושתית	7
מאשר ישאבון הנערים	8
ותפל על-פנים	10.1
ותשתחו ארצה	2
ותאמר אליו	3
מדוע מצאתי הן בעיניך להכירני	4
ואנכי נכריה	5
ויען בעז	11.1
ויאמר לה	2
הגד הגד לי	3
כל אשר-עשית את-חמותך אחר	4a
מות אישך	b
ותעזובי אבעך ואמך וארץ מולדתך	5
ותלכי אל-עם	6
אשר לא-ידעת תמול שלשום	7
ישלם יהוה פעלך	12.1
ותהי משכרתך שלמה מעם יהוה	2a
אלהי ישראל	b
אשר-באת לחסות תחת-כנפיו	3
ותאמר	13.1
אמצאהן בעיניך אדני	2



כי נחמתי	3
וכי רברת על־לב שפחתך	4
ואנכי לא אהיה כאחת שפחתך	5
ויאמר לה בעז לעת האכל	14.1
גשי הלם	2
ואכלת מן־הלחם	3
וטבלת פתך בחמץ	4
ותשב מצד הקוצרים	5
ויצבט־לה קלי	6
ותאכל	7
ותשבע	8
ותתר	9
ותקם ללקט	15.1
ויצו בעז את־נעריו לאמר	2
גם בין העמרים תלקט	3
ולא תכלימוה	4
וגם שלי־תשלו לה מן־הצבתיים	16.1
ועזבתם	2
ולקטה	3
ולא תנער־רבה	4
ותלקט בשדה ער־הערב	17.1
ותחבט	2
את אשר־לקטה	3
ויחי כאיפה שערים	4
ותשא	18.1
ותבו העיר	2
ותרא חמותה	3
את אשר־לקטה	4
ותוצא	5
ותתן־לה	6

את אשר־הותרה משבעה	7
ותאמר לה חמותה	19.1
איפה לקטת היום	2
ואנה עשית	3
יהי מכרך ברוך	4
ותגד לחמותה	5
את אשר־עשתה עמו	6
ותאמר	7
שם האיש +++++ בעז	8
+++ אשר עשיתי עמו היום +++	9
ותאמר נעמי לבלתה	20.1
ברוך הוא ליהוה	2
אשר לא־עזב חסדו את־החיים	3a
ואת־המתים	b
ותאמר לה נעמי	4
קרוב לנו האיש	5
מגאלנו הוא	6
ותאמר רותת המואביה	21.1
גם [ . . . ]	2
כי־אמר אלי	3
עם־הנערים תרבקין	4
אשר־לי	5
עד אם־כלו את כל־הקציר	6

אשר־לי	7
ותאמר נעמי אל־רוות בלתה	22.1
טוב בתי	2
כי תצאי עס־נערותיו	3
ולא יפגע־בך בשדה אחר	4
ותדבק בנערות בעז ללקט ער־כלות	23.1a
קציר־השערים וקציר החטים	b
ותשב את־חמותה	2
ותאמר לה נעמי חמותה	3.1.1
בתי הלא אבקש־לך מנוח	2
אשר ייטב־לך	3
ועתה הלא בעז מדעתנו	2.1
אשר היית את־נערותיו	2
הנה־הוא וזה את־גרן השערים הלילה	3
ורחצת	3.1
וסבת	2
ושמת שמלתך <שמלתיך> עליך	3
וירדתי <וירדת ק'> הגרן	4
אל־תודעי לאיש אר בלתו לאכל ולשתות	5
ויהי בשכבו	4.1
וידעת את־המקום	2
אשר ישכב־שם	3
ובאת	4
וגלית מרגלתי	5
ושכבתי <ושכבת ק'>	6
והוא יגיד לך	7
את אשר תעשין	8

ותאמר אליה	5.1
+++++ אעשה	2
+++ כל אשר-תאמרי <אלי> +++	3
ותרד הגרן	6.1
ותעש	2
ככל אשר-צותה חמותה	3
ויאכל בעל	7.1
וישת	2
וייטב לבו	3
ויבא לשכב בקצה הערמה	4
ותבא בלמ	5
ותגל מרגלתיו	6
ותשכב	7
ויהי בחצי הלילה	8.1
ויחדר האיש	2
וילפת	3
והנה אשה שכבת מרגלתיו	4
ויאמר	9.1
מיראת	2
ותאמר	3
אנכי רות אמתך	4
ופרשת כנפך עלי-אמתך	5
כי גאל אתה	6
ויאמר	10.1
ברוכה את ליהוה בתי	2
היטבת חסדך האחרון מן-הראשון לבלתי-	3a
לכת אחרי הבחורים אסידל ואס-עשיר	b
ועתה בתי אל-תיראי	11.1
+++++ אעשה-לך	2

+++ כל אשר-תאמרי +++	3
כי יודע כל-שער עמי	4
כי אשת חיל את	5
ועתה [ . . . ]	12.1
כי אמנם	2
כי <אם del, cf Qere> גאל אנכי	3
וגם יש גאל קרוב ממני	4
ליני הלילה	13.1
והיה בבקר	2
+++++ טוב	3
+++ אס-יגאלך +++	4
יגאל	5
ואס-לא יחפץ לגאלך	6
וגאלתיך אנכי	7
חייהוה	8
שכבי עדי-הבקר	9
ות'שכב מרגלתו <תיו> אדי-הבקר	14.1
ותקם	2
בטרום <בטרם> יכיר איש את	3a
ידעו	b
ויאמר	4
אלי-יודע	5
כי-באה האשה הגרן	6
ויאמר	15.1

הבי המטפחת	2
אשר-עליך	3
ואחזיבה	4
ותאחז בה	5
וינמר שש-שערים	6
וישת עליה	7
ויבא העיר	8
ותבוא אל-חמותה	16.1
ותאמר	2
מי-את בתי	3
ותגדלה	4
את כל-אשר עשה-לה האיש	5
ותאמר	17.1
שש-השערים האלה נתן לי	2
כי אמר <אלי>	3
אל-תבואי ריקם אל-חמותך	4
ותאמר	18.1
שבי בתי	2
עד אשר תדעיו	3
איך יפל דבר	4
כי לא ישפט האיש	5
כיאס-כלה הדבי היום	6
ובעז עלה השער	4.1.1

וישב שם	2
והנה הפאל עבר	3
אשר דבר־בעז	4
ויאמר	5
סורה	6
שבה־פה לפני	7
ויסר	8
וישב	9
ויקח עשרה אנשים מוקני העיר	2.1
ויאמר	2
שבו־פה	3
וישבו	4
ויאמר לגאל	3.1
חלקת השדה +++++ מכרה נעמי	2a
השבה משרה מואב	b
+++ אשר לאחינו לאלימלך +++	3
ואני אמרתי	4.1
אגלה אונך לאמר	2
קנה נגר הישבים ונגר זקני עמי	3
+++++ גאל	4
+++ אס־תגאל +++	5
+++++ הגידה לי	6
+++ ואס־לא יגאל <תגאל> +++	7
וארע <וארעה ק'>	8
כי אין זולתך לגאול	9
ואנכי אודריך	10

וַיֹּאמֶר	11
אֲנֹכִי אֲנָל	12
וַיֹּאמֶר בָּעֵז	5.1
בְּיוֹם־קִנּוּתְךָ הִשְׁדָּה מִיַּד נַעֲמִי וּמֵאֵת רוּת הַמּוֹאבִּיָּה אֲשֶׁת־הַמֶּת קִנִּיתִי <תָּה> לְחָקִים שְׂמִידַת עַל־נַחֲלָתוֹ	2a b c
וַיֹּאמֶר הַפֶּאֶל	6.1
לֹא אוֹכַל לְנֶאֱוֹל־לִי	2
פֶּן־אֲשַׁחֲיֶת אֶת־נַחֲלָתִי	3
נֶאֱלִיךְ אֹתָהּ אֶת־נֶאֱלָתִי	4
כִּי לֹא־אוֹכַל לְנֶאֱל	5
וְזֹאת לִפְנֵים בִּישְׂרָאֵל עַל־הַנֶּאֱוֹלָה וְעַל־הַתְּמֹרָה לְקִים כְּלִי־דָבָר שֶׁלֶף אִישׁ הָעֶלְו וְנָתַן לְרַעְחוֹ וְזֹאת הַתְּעוּדָה בִּישְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר הַנֶּאֱל לְבָעֵז	7.1a b 2 3 4 8.1
קִנְהִי־לְךָ	2
וַיִּשְׁלַף נַעֲלֹ וַיֹּאמֶר בָּעֵז לִזְקֵנִים וּכְלִי־הַעֶם	3 9.1
עֲרִים אֹתָם הַיּוֹם	2
כִּי קִנִּיתִי +++++ מִיַּד נַעֲמִי	3
+++ אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר לְאֵלִימֶלֶךְ +++	4
+++ וְאֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר לְכַלְיוֹן וּמַחֲלוֹן +++	5a b



וגם את־דורות המאביה אשת	10.1a
מחלון קניתי לי לאשה להקים	b
שם־המת על־נחלתו	c
ולא־ינברת שם־המת מעם אחיו	2a
ומשער מקומו	b
עדים אתם היום	3
ויאמרו כל־העם +++++ והוקנים	11.1
+++ אשר־בשער +++	2
עדים	3
יתן יהוה את־האשה הבאה אל־היתך	4a
ברחל וכלאה	b
אשר בנו שתיהם את־בית ישראל	5
ועשה־חיל באפרתה	6
וקרא־שם בבית לחם	7
ויהי ביתך בבית פרץ +++++ מן־הזרע	12.1
+++ אשר־ילדה תמר ליהודה +++	2
אשר יתן יהוה לך מן־הנערה הזאת	3
ויקח בעז את־דורות	13.1
ותהי־לו לאשה	2
ויבא אליה	3
ויתן יהוה לה הריון	4
ותלד בן	5
ותאמרנה הנשים אל־נעמי	14.1
ברוך יהוה	2
אשר לא השבית לך פאל היום	3
ויקרא שמו בישראל	4
והיה לך למשיב נפש ולכלכל את־שיבתך	15.1

2	כי בלתיך +++++ ילדתו
3	+++ אשר־אהבתך +++
4	אשר־היא טובה לך משבעה בנים
16.1	ותקח נעמי את־הילד
2	ותשתהו בחיקה
3	ותה־לו לאמנת
17.1	ותקראנה לו השכנות שם לאמר
2	ילד־בן לנעמי
3	ותקראנה שמו עובר
4	הוא אבי־ישי אבי דוד
18.1	ואלה תולדות פרץ
2	פרץ הוליד את־חצרון
19.1	וחצרון הוליד את־רם
2	ורם הוליד את־עמינדב
20.1	ועמינדב הוליד את־נחשון
2	ונחשון הוליד את־שלמה
21.1	ושלמון הוליד את־בעז
2	ובעז הוליד את־עובר
22.1	ועבר הוליד את־ישי
2	וישי הוליד את־דוד

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- Aejmelaeus, Anneli. "What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?,"  
ZAW 99 (1987), 58-89
- Alter, Robert. The Art of Biblical Narrative London/Sydney: George Allen & Unwin 1981
- Andersen, Francis I. The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch JBL Monograph  
Series, vol. XIV Nashville: Abingdon 1970
- The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew The Hague/Paris: Mouton 1974
- Andersen, Francis I, and A Dean Forbes. A Linguistic Concordance of Ruth and Jonah:  
Hebrew Vocabulary and Idiom The Computer Bible, vol. IX  
Biblical Research Associates, Inc. 1976
- Andersen, Francis I, and D N Freedman. Hosea Anchor Bible 24 Garden City, New  
York: Doubleday 1980
- Auld, A. Graeme. Joshua, Judges and Ruth The Daily Study Bible Edinburgh: St Andrew  
Press / Philadelphia: Westminster Press 1984
- Bandstra, Barry L. "Word Order and Emphasis in Biblical Hebrew narrative: Syntactic  
Observations on Genesis 22 from a Discourse Perspective  
[1986]" in Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew, ed. Bodine, 109-123
- Bar-Efrat, Shimon. Narrative Art in the Bible Sheffield: Almond Press 1989
- Barr, James. Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament London: SCM  
Press 1983
- The Semantics of Biblical Language London: SCM Press 1983
- Beattie, D. R. G. Jewish Exegesis of the Book of Ruth JSOT Suppl. Series, 2 Sheffield:  
JSOT/University of Sheffield 1977

- Berlin, Adele "Lexical Cohesion and Biblical Interpretation" *Hebrew Studies* 30 (1989),  
29-40
- "Point of View in Biblical Narrative" in Geller, ed., A Sense of Text (1983),  
71-113
- Bernstein, Moshe J. "Two Multivalent Readings in the Ruth Narrative" *JSOT* 50 (1991),  
15-26
- Bodine, Walter R., ed. Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew Winona Lake, Indiana:  
Eisenbrauns 1992
- "How Linguists Study Syntax [1987]" in Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew, ed. by  
Bodine, 89-107
- "The Study of Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew" in Linguistics and Biblical  
Hebrew, ed. by Bodine, 1-5
- Boling, Robert G. Judges The Anchor Bible Garden City, New York: Doubleday 1975
- Brend, Ruth M., ed. Kenneth L. Pike: Selected Writings *Janua Linguarum, Series Major*,  
55 The Hague/Paris: Mouton
- and Kenneth L. Pike, eds. Tagmemics, Volume One: 'Aspects of the Field'  
*Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs*, 1 the  
Hague/Paris: Mouton 1976
- Brenner, Athalya "A Triangle and a Rhombus in Narrative Structure: a proposed integrative  
reading of Judges IV and V" *VT* XL, 2 (1990), 129-38
- Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs. A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the  
Old Testament . . . Clarendon Press: Oxford
- Brownlee, William H. Ezekiel 1-19 Word Biblical Commentary Series, no. 28 Waco,  
Texas: Word Books 1986

- Burney, C. F. The Book of Judges London: Rivingtons 1918
- Buth, Randall John. Word Order in Aramaic from the Perspectives of Functional Grammar and Discourse Analysis Ph.D. Dissertation, UCLA: United Microfilms International 1987
- Calloud, Jean (tr. by Daniel Patte). Structural Analysis of Narrative Philadelphia: Fortress Press / Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press 1976
- Cotterell, Peter and Max Turner. Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation London: SPCK 1989
- Cook, Edward M. Word Order in the Aramaic of Daniel Monographic Journals of the Near East: Afroasiatic Linguistics, vol 9, issue 3 [Dec., 1986] Malibu, California: Undena Publications
- Dearman, Andrew, ed. Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab [Archeology and biblical studies, no. 2] Atlanta: Scholars Press 1989
- Eisenman, Robert and Michael Wise The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered Rockport, Massachusetts: Element 1992
- Elson, Benjamin F. and Velma P. Pickett. An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax, 2nd ed. Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics 1964
- Eskhult, Mats. Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose Uppsala: (Uppsala University) 1990
- den Exter Blokland, A. F. "Clause Analysis in Biblical Hebrew Narrative — an explanation and a manual for compilation" *TrinJ* 11 NS (1990), 73-102
- Fewell, Danna Nolan, and David Miller Gunn. Compromising Redemption: Relating Characters in the Book of Ruth (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation [no series number]) Louisville, Kentucky: John Knox Press 1990

- Fokkelman, J. P. Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis  
Assen/Amsterdam: van Gorcum 1975
- Freedman, D. N. and K. A. Matthews. The Paleo-Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev) :  
American Schools of Oriental Research 1985
- Fuchs, Esther "Marginalization, Ambiguity, Silencing: The Story of Jephthah's Daughter"  
Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion 5 (1989), 35-45
- Garr, W. Randall. "The Qinah: A Study of Poetic Meter, Syntax and Style," ZAW 95  
(1983), 54-74
- Geller, Stephen A., ed.(?) A Sense of Text: The Art of Language in the Study of Biblical  
Literature (Jewish Quarterly Review Suppl. 1982)  
Philadelphia: Jewish Quartely Review 1983
- "Through Windows and Mirrors into the Bible. History, Literature, and  
Language in the Study of the Text" in Geller, ed., A Sense of  
Text (1983), 3-40
- Gerleman, Gillis. Ruth / Das Hohelied Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament, Band XVIII  
Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins  
1965
- Grant, Reg. "Literary Structure in Ruth" Bibliotheca Sacra, Octobe-December 1991, 424-441
- Gray, John. Joshua, Judges and Ruth The Century Bible London: Nelson 1967
- Greenstein, Edward "On the Prefixed Preterite in Biblical Hebrew" Hebrew Studies 29  
(1988), 7-17
- Grimes, Barbara, ed. Ethnologue Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics 1984
- Hals, Ronald M. Ezekiel (The Forms of the Old Testament Literature, 19) Grand Rapids:  
Eerdmans 1989

- Hoftijzer, J. A Search for Method: a Study in the Syntactic Use of the H-locale in Classical Hebrew (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, 12) Leiden: E J Brill 1981
- Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A. Thompson. "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse" *Language* 56 (1980) 251-299
- Hospers, J. H. "Polysemy and Homonymy" *ZAW* 6/1 (1993), 114-23
- Huehnergard, John "The Early Hebrew Prefix Conjugations" *Hebrew Studies* 29 (1988), 19-23 hL
- Hubbard, David L. "Ruth IV 17: A New Solution" *VT* 38 (1988), 293-301
- Hurvitz, Avi. "Ruth 2.7 – 'A Midrashic Gloss?'" *ZAW* 95 (1983), 121-123
- Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete, XXXVI (1988-1989)
- Isaksson, Bo Studies in the Language of Qoheleth (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 10) Uppsala: 1987
- Jagersma, H. Bijbels Hebreeuws: Basiscursus Kampen, Holland: Uitgeversmaatschappij J.H. Kok 1991
- Jenni, Ernst. Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des alten Testaments 2. Auflage Basel/Frankfurt am Main: Helbing & Lichtenhahn 1981
- Johnson, Bo. Hebräisches Perfekt und Imperfekt mit vorangehendem <sup>we</sup> 1979
- Jones, Linda K. "A Synopsis of Tagmemics" *Syntax and Semantics, Volume 13: 'Current Approaches to Syntax'* 1980, 77-96
- Khan, Geoffrey. Studies in Semitic Syntax Oxford: Oxford University Press 1988
- Körner, Jutta. Hebräische Studiengrammatik Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie 1988

- Lambdin, Thomas O. Introduction to Biblical Hebrew London: Darton, Longman and Todd  
1971
- Levine, Etan. The Aramaic Version of Ruth Analecta Biblica 58 Rome: Biblical Institute  
Press 1973
- Lilley, J. P. U. "A Literary Approach to the Book of Judges" Tyndale Bulletin 15 (1967),  
94-102
- Longacre, R. E. "Discourse" in Ruth M. Brend and Kenneth L. Pike, eds., Tagmemics, pp.  
1-44
- Discourse, Paragraph, and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages  
(Volume One: "Discourse and Paragraph Structure") (Summer  
Institute of Linguistics Publ. in Linguistics and Related Field,  
21) Santa Ana: SIL 1968
- "Discourse Perspective on the Hebrew Verb: Affirmation and Restatement  
[1987]," 177-189 in Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew, ed. by  
Bodine
- Grammar Discovery Procedures: A Field Manual (Janua Linguarum Series  
Minor, 33) the Hague: Mouton 1964
- The Grammar of Discourse (Topics in Language and Linguistics, 3 [?]) New  
York: Plenum Press 1983
- Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages,  
2 vols. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press 1972
- Joseph: a story of divine providence : a text theoretical and text-linguistic  
analysis of Genesis 37 and 39-48 Winona Lake, Indiana:  
Eisenbrauns 1989
- "Tagmemics" Word 36:2 (1985), 137-77



———, ed. Theory and Application in Processing Texts in non-Indoeuropean Languages  
(Papiere zur Textlinguistik, Bd. 43) Hamburg: Helmut Buske  
Verlag 1984

Louw, Johannes P. "The Function of Discourse in a Sociosemiotic Theory of Translation:  
Illustrated by the Translation of *zēloue* in 1 Corinthians  
12.31" *The Bible Translator* 39 (1988), 329-335

MacDonald, Peter J. "Discourse Analysis and Biblical Interpretation [1986]," 153-175 in  
Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew, ed. by Bodine

MacGregor, Leslie John. The Greek Text of Ezekiel: An Examination of its Homogeneity  
Septuagint and Cognate Studies 18, SBL 1985

Magonet, Jonathan. Form and Meaning: Studies in Literary Techniques in the Book of  
Jonah Sheffield: Almond Press 1983

Martin, James D. The Book of Judges The Cambridge Bible Commentary Cambridge:  
Cambridge University Press 1975

McFall, Leslie. The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System Sheffield: Almond Press 1982

Meier, Samuel A. Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible  
VTS 46 Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill 1992

Meyer, D. Rudolf. Hebräische Grammatik Band I: Einleitung, Schrift- und Lautlehre;  
Band II: Formenlehre, Flexionstabellen; Band III: Satzlehre;  
Band IV: Register; Hebräisches Textbuch. Berlin: Walter de  
Gruyter & Co. 1966

Milne, Pamela J. "The Patriarchal Stamp of Scripture: The Implications of Structuralist  
Analyses for Feminist Hermeneutics" *Journal of Feminist  
Studies in Religion* 5 (1989), 17-34

de Moor, Johannes. "The Poetry of the Book of Ruth (Part I)" *Or* 53 (1984), 262-283

———— "The Poetry of the Book of Ruth (Part II) Or 55 (1986), 16-46

Muraoka, T. Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew Jerusalem/Leiden: E J Brill 1985

Murphy, Roland E, O. Carm. Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther The Forms of the Old Testament Literature, volume XIII Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 1981

Myers, Jacob M. The Linguistic and Literary Form of the Book of Ruth Leiden: E J Brill 1955

Noth, Martin. Leviticus: a Commentary Old Testament Library London: SCM Press 1977

Niccacci, Alviero (tr. W G E Watson). The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose JSOTSS 86 Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1990

Nyyssönen, Heikki. "Steps to an Analysis of Written Discourse" in Nyyssönen, Issues (1983), 8-15

————, ed. Issues in Discourse Analysis, Contrastive Phonetics and Literary Communication (Publications of the Department of English, University of Oulu, 3) Oulu, Finland: University of Oulu 1983

————, et al., eds. Bibliography of Discourse Analysis and Text Linguistics (Publications of the Department of English, University of Oulu, 6) Oulu, Finland: University of Oulu 1985

————, et al., eds. Proceedings from the Second Finnish Seminar on Discourse Analysis, Oulu, September 27-28, 1988 (Publications of the Department of English, University of Oulu, 9) Oulu, Finland: University of Oulu 1990

O'Connor, M. Hebrew Verse Structure Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns 1980

Payne, David. "Activity as the Encoding of Foreground in Narrative: A Case Study of an Asheninca Legend" in Theory and Application in Processing Texts in Non-Indo-European Languages (Papiere zur Textlinguistik, Bd. 43), ed. Robert Longacre, 49-112 1984

Pike, Kenneth L. Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour, 2nd ed. The Hague: Mouton 1967

————— Linguistic Concepts: An Introduction to Tagmemics Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press 1982

————— and E. G. Pike, Grammatical Analysis Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington 1977

Rainey, Anson F. "Further Remarks on the Hebrew Verbal System" *Hebrew Studies* 29 (1988), 35-42

Revell, E. J. "The System of the Verb in Standard Biblical Prose" *HUCA* 60 (1989), 1-37

Schiffrin, D. "Tense Variation in Narrative," *Language* 57 (1981), 45-62

Schökel, Luis Alfonso. "The Diccionario bíblico hebreo-español (DBHE)" *ZAW* 4 (1991), 76-83

Schoors, Antoon "The Pronouns in Qoheleth" *Hebrew Studies* 30 (1989), 71-90

Schwartzschild, Roger "The Syntax of ~~וְ~~ in Biblical Hebrew with Special Reference to Qoheleth" *Hebrew Studies* 31 (1990), 7-39

Schneider, Wolfgang. Übungsbuch für den Hebräisch-unterricht Munich: Claudius Verlag 1989

Sihvonen-Hautecoeur, Päivi. "Discourse Markers and Dialogue in French" in Nyysönen, et al., eds. Proceedings (1990), 52-63

- Simpson, Cuthbert Aikman. Composition of the Book of Judges Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1957
- Smith, Mark S. "The *Waw*-Consecutive at Qumran" ZAW 4 (1991) 161-4
- Vaux, Roland de (tr. John McHugh). Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions London: Darton, Longman & Todd, Ltd. 1961
- Waard, Jan de, and Eugene A. Nida. A Translator's Handbook on the Book of Ruth New York: United Bible Societies 1973
- Waldman, Nahum M. The Recent Study of Hebrew: a survey of the literature with selected bibliography [Bibliographica Judaica, no. 10] Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press / Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns 1989
- Waltke, Bruce E. and M. O'Connor. An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns 1990
- Waterhouse, Viola G. The History and Development of Tagmemics Janua Linguarum Series Critica, 16 The Hague/Paris: Mouton 1974
- Watson, Wilfred G. E. Classical Hebrew Poetry: a guide to its techniques, 2nd ed. JSOTSS 26 Sheffield: JSOT Press 1986
- Webb, Barry G. The Book of Judges: An Integrated Reading JSOTSS 46 Sheffield: JSOT Press 1987
- Wechter, Pinchas. Ibn Barūn's Arabic Works on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning 1964
- Wickes, William. A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-One So-Called Prose Books of the Old Testament 1887
- Wiklander, Bertil. Prophecy as Literature: A Text-Linguistic and Rhetorical Approach to

Isaiah 2-4 [Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series, No. 22]  
Malmö: CWK Gleerup 1984

Williams, Jay G. "The Structure of Judges 2.1-16.31" JSOT 49 (1991), 77-85

Wise, Mary Ruth. "Language and Behavior" in Ruth M. Brend and Kenneth L. Pike, eds.,  
Tagmemics, pp. 85-140

Witzenrath, Hagia Hildegard. Das Buch Rut Studien zum alten und neuen Testament  
Munich: Kösel-Verlag 1975

Wright, Charles H. H., ed. The Book of Ruth in Hebrew and Chaldee London: Williams &  
Norgate 1864

Zevit, Ziony "Talking in Biblical Henglish [sic] and Solving a Problem of the YAQTUL  
Past Tense" Hebrew Studies 29 (1988), 25-33

Zuber, Beat. Das Tempussytem des Biblischen Hebräisch Berlin: de Gruyter 1986

## COLOUR KEY FOR FORMATTED SAMPLE TEXTS.

wc + Prefix conjugation of non-היה verbs:

וילך

wc + Prefix conjugation of היה:

והיה

Suffix conjugation of non-היה verbs:

שמעה

Suffix conjugation of היה:

היתה

wc + Suffix conjugation of non-היה verbs:

ואספתי

wc + Suffix conjugation of היה:

והיו

Prefix conjugation of non-היה verbs:

תלכנה

Prefix conjugation of היה:

ויהי

Participles:

יסף

Verbless Clauses

ושם האיש אלימלך

Particles — יש, אין, לא, אל, פן, etc.

יש

Command/Supplication Forms

לכנה

# SAMPLE PERICOPESES OF THE COLOUR-CODED "TABERNACLE" MATERIAL.

The columns, from right to left, are: Procedural/Instructional unsubordinated; Proc./Instr. subordinated; Narrative History (?) unsubordinated; Narr. Hist. subordinated.

Pericope B:

ועשית שלחן עצי שטים	25.23.1	ויעש שלחן עצי שטים	37.10.1
אמתים ארכו	2	אמתים ארכו	2
ואמה רחבו	3	ואמה רחבו	3
ואמה וחצי קמתו	4	ואמה וחצי קמתו	4
וצפת אתו זה טהור	24.1	ויצף אתו זה טהור	11.1
ועשית לו זר זהב סביב	2	ויעש לו זר זהב סביב	2
ועשית לו מסגרת טפח סביב	25.1	ויעש לו מסגרת טפח סביב	12.1
ועשית זר זהב למסגרתו סביב	2	ויעש זר זהב למסגרתו סביב	2
ועשית לו ארבע טבעת זהב	26.1	ויעש לו ארבע טבעת זהב	13.1
ונתת את הטבעת על ארבע	2a	ויתן את הטבעת על ארבע	2a
הפאת	b	הפאת	b
אשר לארבע רגליו	3	אשר לארבע רגליו	3
לעמדת המגרת תהיין הטבעת	27.1a	לעמדת המגרת היו הטבעת	14.1a
לבתיים לבדים לשאת את-	b	בתיים לבדים לשאת את-	b
השלחן	c	השלחן	c
ועשית את הברדים עצי שטים	28.1	ויעש את הברדים עצי שטים	15.1
וצפית אתם זהב	2	ויצף אתם זהב לשאת את-	2a
ונשאיבם את השלחן	3	השלחן	b
ועשית קערותיו וכפתיו	29.1a	ויעש את הכלים +++++ את-	16.1a
וקשותיו ומנקיותיו	b	קערותיו ואת כפתיו ואת	b
		מנקיותיו ואת הקשות +++++	c
		זהב טהור	d
		+++ אשר על השלחן +++	2
		+++ אשר יסך בהן +++	3
ונתת על השלחן לחם פנים	30.1a		
לפני תמיד	b		



Pericope C:

ויעש את־המנרה זהב טהור	37.17.1	ועשית מנרת זהב טהור	25.31.1
מקשה עשה את־המנרה ירכה	2a	מקשה תעשה המנורה ירכה	2a
וקנה	b	וקנה	b
גביעה כפתריה ופרחיה	3a	גביעה כפתריה ופרחיה	3a
ממנה היו	b	ממנה יהיו	b
וששה קנים יצאים מצשיה	18.1	וששה קנים יצאים מצריה	32.1
שלושה קני מנרה מצדה	2	שלושה קני מנרה מצדה	2
האחד	b	האחד	b
ושלושה קני מנרה מצדה	3a	ושלושה קני מנרה מצדה	3a
השני	b	השני	b
שלושה גבעים משקרים	19.1a	שלושה גבעים משקרים	33.1a
בקנה האחד כפתר ופרח	b	בקנה האחד כפתר ופרח	b
ושלושה גבעים משקרים	2a	ושלושה גבעים משקרים	2a
בקנה האחד כפתר ופרח	b	בקנה האחד כפתר ופרח	b
בן לששה הקנים היצאים מן־	3a	בן לששה הקנים היצאים מן־	3a
המנרה	b	המנרה	b
ובמנרה ארבעה גבעים	20.1a	ובמנרה ארבעה גבעים	34.1a
משקרים כפתריה ופרחיה	b	משקרים כפתריה ופרחיה	b
וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	21.1	וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	35.1
וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	2	וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	2
וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	3	וכפתר תחת שני הקנים ממנה	3a
לששה הקנים היצאים	b	לששה הקנים היצאים מן־	b
ממנה	c	המנרה	c
כפתריהם וקנתם ממנה היו	22.1a	כפתריהם וקנתם ממנה יהיו	36.1a
כלה מקשה אחת זהב טהור	b	כלה מקשה אחת זהב טהור	b
ויעש את־נרתיה שבעה	23.1	ועשית את־נרתיה שבעה	37.1
		והעלה את־נרתיה	2
		והאיר על־עבר פניה	3
ומלקחיה ומחתתיה זהב טהור	2	ומלקחיה ומחתתיה זהב טהור	38.1
בכר זהב טהור עשה אתה	24.1a	בכר זהב טהור יעשה אתה	39.1a
את בליהכלים האלה	b	את בליהכלים האלה	b
		וראה	40.1
		ועשה בתבניתם	2
		אשר־אתה מראה בהר	3



THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF RUTH IN COLUMNAR FORMAT,  
COLOUR-CODED.

The columns, from left to right, are as follows: Unsubordinated non-Reported Speech;  
Subordinated non-Reported Speech; Unsubordinated Reported Speech; Subordinated  
Reported Speech.

	Ruth
ויהי בימי שפט השפטים	1.1.1
ויהי רעב בארץ	2
וילך איש מבית לחם יהודה לגור	3a
בשרי מואב הוא ואשתו ושני בניו	b
ושם האיש אלימלך	2.1
ושם אשתו נעמי	2
ושם שני בניו מחלון וכליון	3
אפרתים מבית לחם יהודה	4
ויבאו שרי-מואב	5
ויהיו שם	6
וימת אלימלך איש נעמי	3.1
ותשאר היא ושני בניה	2
וישאו להם נשים מאביות	4.1
שם האחת ערפה	2
ושם השנית רות	3
וישבו שם כעשר שנים	4
וימותו גם-שניהם מחלון וכליון	5.1
ותשאר האשה משני ילדיה ומאשה	2
ותקם היא וכלתיה	6.1
ותשב משרי מואב	2
כי שמעה בשרי מואב	3
כיפקר יהוה את-עמו לתת	4a
להם לחם	b
ותצא מן-המקום	7.1
אשר היתה-שמה	2
ושתי כלתיה עמה	3
ותלכנה בדרך לשוב אל-ארץ יהודה	4
ותאמר נעמי לשתי כלתיה	8.1
לבנה	2
שבנה אשה לבית אמה	3
יעשה יהוה עמכם חסד	4
כאשר עשיתם עמדהמתים ועמרי	5
יתן יהוה לכם	9.1

ומצאן מנוחה אשה בית אישה	2
ותשק להן	3
ותשאנה קולן	4
ותבכינה	5
ותאמרנה ללה	10.1
[ . . . ]+++++	2
+++ כי אתך נשוב לעמך +++	3
ותאמר נעמי	11.1
שבנה בנתי	2
למה תלבנה עמי	3
העודילי בנים כמע	4
והיו לכם לאנשים	5
שבנה בנתי	12.1
לכו	2
כי זקנתי מהיות לאיש	3
כי אמרתי	4
ישלי תקוה	5
גם הייתי הלילה לאיש	6
וגם ילדתי בנים	7
הלחן תשברנה	13.1
עד אשר יגדלו	2
הלחן תעננה לבלתי היות לאיש	3
אל בנתי	4
כי־מדלי מאד מכם	5
כי־צאה כי ידיהוה	6
ותשנה קולן	14.1
ותבכינה עוד	2
ותשק ערפה לחמותה	3
ותשב אל־עמה <LXX>	4
ורות דבקו בה	5
ותאמר	15.1
הנה	2
שבה יבמתך אל־עמה ואל־אלהיה	3a
שובי אחרי יבמתך	4

ותאמר רות	16.1	
אל תפגעו בי לעובר לשוב מאחריך	2a	
כי +++++ אלך	3	
+++ אל־אשר תלכי	4	
+++++ אליך	5	
+++ ובאשר תליני	6	
עמך עמי	7	
ואלוהיך אלהי	8	
+++++ אמות	17.1	
+++ באשר תמותי	2	
ושם אקבר	3	
כה יעשר יהוה לי	4	
וכה יספ	5	
כי המות יפריד ביני ובינך	6	
ותרא	18.1	
בידמתאמצת היא ללכת אתה	2	
ותחדל לדבר אליה	3	
ותלכנה שתיהם <הן> עדיבאנה בית	19.1a	
לחם	b	
ויהי כבאנה בית לחם	2	
ותהם בל־העיר עליהן	3	
ותאמרנה	4	
הזאת נעמי	7	
ותאמר אליהן	20.1	
אלי תקראנה לי נעמי	2	
קראן לי מיא	3	
כי המר שדי לי מאד	4	
אני מלאה חלבתי	21.1	
וריקם השיבני יהוה	2	
למה תקראנה לי נעמי	3	

ויהוה ענה בי	4
ושרי דרע לי	5
ותשב נעמי	22.1
ורות המואביה כלתה עמה השבה	2a
משרי מואב	b
והמה באו בית לחם בתחלת קיור	3a
שערים	b
ולנעמי מידע <מודע ק'> לאישה	2.1.1a
איש גבור חיל ממשפחת אלימלך	b
ושמו בעז	2
ותאמר רות המואביה אל-נעמי	2.1
אלכה נא השרה	2
ואלקטה בשבליים	3
אחר אשר אמצאיהן בעיניו	4
ותאמר לה	5
לכי בתי	6
ותלך	3.1
ותבוא	2
ותלקט בשדה אחרי הקצרים	3
ויקח מקרה הלכת השרה לבעז	4
אשר ממשפחת אלימלך	5
והנה דבעז בא מבית לחם	4.1
ויאמר לקוצרים	2
יהוה עמכם	3
ויאמר לו	4
יברכך יהוה	5
ויאמר בעז לנערו הנצב על-הקצרים	5.1
למי הנערה הזאת	2
ויען הנער הנצב אל-הקצרים	6.1
ויאמר	2
נערה מואביה היא השבה עס-נעמי	3a
משרי מואב	a
ותאמר	7.1



אלקטרה־נא	2
ואספתי בעמרים אחר הקוצרים	3
ותבוא	4
ותעמוד מאז הבקר ועד־עתה	5
זה שבתה הבית מעט <LXX> cf. ועד־	6a
עתה לא־שבתה בשרה מעט	b
ויאמר בעז אל־רות	8.1
הלוא שמעת בתי	2
אל־הלכי ללקט בשרה אחר	3
וגם לא־תעבורי מזה	4
וכה תדבקין עס־נערת־י	5
עין־עך בשרה	9.1
אשר־תקצרון	2
והלכת אחריהם	3
הלוא צויתי את־הנערים לבלתי נגעך	4
וצמת	5
והלכת אל־הבליים	6
ושתית	7
מאשר ישאבון הנערים	8
ותפל על־פנים	10.1
ותשתחו ארצה	2
ותאמר אליו	3
מדוע מצאתי חן בעיניך להבירני	4
ואנכי נכריה	5
וישן בעז	11.1
ויאמר לה	2
הגר הגר לי	3
כל אשר־עשית את־חמותך אחר	4a
מות אישך	b
ותעזבי אבעך ואמך וארץ מולדתך	5a
ותלכי אל־עם	6
אשר לא־דעת תמול שלשום	7
ישלם יהוה פעלך	12.1
ותהי משכרתך שלמה מעם יהוה	2a
אלהי ישראל	b

13.1 ותאמר

אמצא־הן בעיניך אדני

2

כי נחמתי

3

וכי דברתי על־לב שפחתך

4

ואנכי לא אהיה כאחת שפחתך

5

14.1 ויאמר לה בעז לעת האכל

נשי חלם

2

ואכלת מן־הלחם

3

וטבלת פתך בחמץ

4

5 ותשב מצד הקוצרים

6 ויצבט לה קלי

7 ותאכל

8 ותשבע

9 ותתר

15.1 ותקם ללקט

2 ויצו בעז את־נעריו לאמר

גם בין העמרים תלקט

3

ולא תכלימוהו

4

וגם של־תשלו לה מן־הצבתיים

16.1

ועזבתם

2

ולקטתה

3

לא תגערודבה

4

17.1 ותלקט בשדה ער־הערב

2 ותחבט

3 את אשר־לקטתה

4 ויהי כאיפה שערים

18.1 ותשא

2 ותבו העיר

3 ותרא חמותה

4 את אשר־לקטתה

5 ותוצא

6 ותתן־לה

7 את אשר־הותרה משבעה

19.1 ותאמר לה חמותה

איפה לקטת היום	2
ואנה ישיר	3
יהי מכירך ברוך	4
ותגד לחמותה	5
את אשר עשתה עמו	6
ותאמר	7
שם האיש +++++ בעז	8
+++ אשר עשיתי עמו היום +++	9
ותאמר נעמי לכלתה	20.1
ברוך הוא ליהוה	2
אשר לא טוב חסדו את־החיים ואת־המתים	3a b
ותאמר לה נעמי	4
קרוב לנו האיש	5
מנאלנו הוא	6
ותאמר רותת המואביה	21.1
גם [ . . . ]	2
ביאמר אלי	3
עם־הנערים תדבקין	4
אשר־לי	5
עד אס־כלו את בל־הקציר	6
אשר־לי	7
ותאמר נעמי אל־רות כלתה	22.1
טוב בתי	2
בי תצאי עם־נערותי	3
ולא יפגעו־בך בשרה אחר	4

ותדבק בנערות בעו ללקט עריכלות	23.1a
קציר-השערים וקציר החמים	b
ותשב את-חמותה	2
ותאמר לה נעמי חמותה	3.1.1
בתי הלא אבקש-לך מגוח	2
אשר ייטב-לך	3
ועתה הלא בעו מדעתנו	2.1
אשר היית את-נערותיו	2
הנה הוא וזה את-גן השערים הלילה	3a
ורחצת	3.1
וסבת	2
ישמת שמלתך <שמלתך> עליך	3
וירדת <ירדת ק'> הגן	4
אל תודעי לאיש אר בלתו לאכל ולשתות	5a
ויהי בשכבו	4.1
וידעת את-המקום	2
אשר ישכב-שם	3
ובאת	4
ונגלית מרגלתיו	5
ושכבתי <ושכבת ק'>	6
והוא יגיד לך	7
את אשר תעשין	8
ותאמר אליה	5.1
+++++ אעשה	2
+++ כל אשר תאמר <אלי> +++	3
ותרד הגן	6.1
ותעש	2
ככל אשר צוהת חמותה	3
ויאכל בעל	7.1
וישת	2
וייטב לבו	3
ויבא לשכב בקצה הערמה	4
ותבא בלט	5
ותגל מרגלתיו	6
ותשכב	7



ויהי בחצי הלילה	8.1
ויהרד האיש	2
וילפת	3
והנה אשה שכבת מרגלתיו	4
ויאמר	9.1
מִי־את	2
ותאמר	3
אנכי רות אמתך	4
ופרשת כנפך על־אמתך	5
כי גאל אתה	6
ויאמר	10.1
ברוכה את לידות בתי	2
היטבת חסדך האחרון מן־הראשון לבלתי־	3a
לכת אחרי הבחורים אסירל ואס־עשיר	b
ועתה בתי אל־תיראי	11.1
+++++ אעשה־לך	2
+++ אשר־תאמרי +++	3
כי יודע כל־שער עמי	4
כי אשת חיל את	5
ועתה [ . . . ]	12.1
כי אמנם	2
כי <אם del, cf Qere> גאל אנכי	3
וגם יש גאל קרוב ממני	4
ליני הלילה	13.1
והיה בבקר	2
+++++ מוזב	3
+++ אס־ינאלך +++	4
ינאל	5
ואם־לא יחפץ לנאלך	6
וגאלתיך אנכי	7
ח־יחזה	8
שכבי עד־הבקר	9

ותשכב מרגלתו <תיו> אד־הבקר	14.1
ותקם	2
בטרום <בטרם> יכיר איש את ירעהו	3a b
ויאמר	4
אל יזדע	5
כי באה האשה הגרן	6
ויאמר	15.1
הבי המטפחת	2
אשר־עליך	3
ואחזיבה	4
ותאחו בה	5
וינמך שש־שערים	6
וישת עליה	7
ויבא העיר	8
ותבוא אל־חמותה	16.1
ותאמר	2
מי־את בתי	3
ותגדלה	4
את כל־אשר עשה־לה האיש	5
ותאמר	17.1
שש־השערים האלה נתן לי	2
כי אמר <אלי>	3
אל־תבואי ריקם אל־חמותך	4
ותאמר	18.1
שבִי בתי	2
עד אשר תרעיו	3
איך יפל רכר	4

5	כי לא יושפט האיש	
6	כי-אם בלה הרבי היום	
4.1.1	ובעז עלה השער	
2	וישב שם	
3	והנה הפאל עבר	
4	אשר דבר-בעז	
5	ויאמר	
6	מורה	
7	שבה-פה לפני	
8	ויסר	
9	וישב	
2.1	ויקח עשרה אנשים מזקני העיר	
2	ויאמר	
3	שבו-פה	
4	וישבו	
3.1	ויאמר לגאל	
2a	חלקת השרה +++++ מכרה נעמי	
b	השבה משרה מואב	
3	+++ אשר לאחינו לאלימלך +++	
4.1	ואני אמרתי	
2	אנלה אונך לאמר	
3	קנה נגר הישבים ונגד זקני עמי	
4	נאל +++++	
5	+++ אסדתגאל +++	
6	+++++ הגידה לי	
7	+++ ואם לא ינאל <תגאל> +++	
8	ואדע <ואדעה ק'>	
9	כי אין זולתך לגאול	
10	ואנכי אחריך	
11	ויאמר	

אנכי אנאל	12
ויאמר בעז	5.1
ביום-קנותך השרה מיד נעמי ומאת רות המואביה אשת-המת קניתי <תה> להקים שם-המת על-נחלתו	2a b c
ויאמר הפאל	6.1
לא אוכל לנאול-לי	2
פן-אשחית את-נחלתי	3
נאלי-לך אתה את-נאולתי	4
פי לא אוכל לנאל	5
וזאת לפנים בישראל על-הנאולה ועל-התמורה לקים בל-דבר שלך איש העלו ונתן לרעהו וזאת התעודה בישראל ויאמר הנאל לבעז	7.1a b 2 3 4 8.1
קנה-לך	2
וישלף נעלו ויאמר בעז לזקנים וכל-העם	3 9.1
עדים אתם היום	2
בי קניתי +++++ מיד נעמי	3a
+++ את-כל-אשר לאלימלך +++	4
+++ ואת כל-אשר לכליון ומחלון +++	5a b
וגם את-ידות המאביה אשת מחלון קניתי לי לאשה להקים שם-המת על-נחלתו ולא יפרת שם-המת מעם אחיו ומשער מקומו	10.1a b c 2a b
עדים אתם היום	3
ויאמרו כל-העם +++++ והזקנים	11.1

+++ אשר בשער +++	2
עדים	3
יתן יהוה את־האשה הבאה אל־היתך	4a
ברחל וכלאה	b
אשר בנו שתיהם את־בית ישראל	5
ועשה־חיל באפרתה	6
וקרא־שם בבית לחם	7
ויהי ביתך בבית פרץ +++++ מן־הזרע	12.1
+++ אשר ילדה תמר ליהודה +++	2
אשר יתן יהוה לך מן־הנערה הזאת	3x
ויקח בעז את־דורות	13.1
ותהי־לו לאשה	2
ויבא אליה	3
ויתן יהוה לה הריון	4
ותלד בן	5
ותאמרנה הנשים אל־נעמי	14.1
ברוך יהוה	2
אשר לא השבית לך פאל היום	3
ויקרא שמו בישראל	4
והיה לך למשיב נפש ולכלכל את־שיבתך	15.1
כי בלתך +++++ ילדתו	2
+++ אשר אהבתך +++	3
אשר־היא טובה לך משבעה בנים	4
ותקח נעמי את־הילד	16.1
ותשתחו בחיקה	2
ותהי־לו לאמנת	3
ותקראנה לו השכנות שם לאמר	17.1
ילד־בן לנעמי	2
ותקראנה שמו עובר	3
הוא אבי־ישי אבי רוח	4
ואלה תולדות פרץ	18.1
פרץ וזלד את־חצרון	2
וחצרון וזלד את־דרם	19.1

וּדְם הַלֵּיד אֶת־עַמִּינֹרֶב	2
וְעַמִּינֹרֶב הַלֵּיד אֶת־נַחֲשׁוֹן	20.1
וְנַחֲשׁוֹן הַלֵּיד אֶת־שְׁלֹמֹה	2
וְשְׁלֹמֹן הַלֵּיד אֶת־בְּעָז	21.1
וּבְעָז הַלֵּיד אֶת־עֹבֵד	2
וְעֹבֵד הַלֵּיד אֶת־יִשִּׁי	22.1
וְיִשִּׁי הַלֵּיד אֶת־דָּוִד	2